

# MACLEAN'S

**Q&A: ROBERT F. KENNEDY JR.**

An environmental crusader  
takes on the White House

**KILLER VIRUSES**

Are we ready for the  
next big flu bug?

**SLIPPERY SLOPE**

Allan Gotlieb on Canada  
and the new world order

## COLLATERAL DAMAGE

**JONATHON GATEHOUSE** in Amman on war and Mideast fallout

**ARTHUR KENT** in London on the dangers of Washington's endgame

**ALEXANDRE TRUDEAU** in Baghdad on Iraq's religious divisions

**JULIAN BELTRAME** in Ottawa on the price of poor diplomacy

\$4.50



## Who really cares about Geography any more?



wherever **U R**  
**AIRTIME BONUS**

Get up to **\$300\*** on  
all types of calling.

- Local
- Canadian long distance
- U.S./International roaming



Get an airtime bonus up to \$300 whenever you take your phone. Now get up to \$100 in airtime per month for 3 months when you activate on one of our most popular plans. And you can use this bonus whether you're calling from in town, across Canada or from 50 countries worldwide, including the U.S. With a deal like this, who cares about geography?

\$24.99

Imagine getting more from your phone.



SHOP AT WWW.ROGERS.COM, 1-800-IMAGINE, OR A ROGERS® AT&T STORE.



Pay a little more, get a lot more.  
I wonder if my math teacher knows about this?



**incredible  
ROGERS  
BUNDLES**  
for as little as

for as little as

**\$7**  
more per month\*

**The Incredible Rogers Bundles.** You get Rogers Hi-Speed Internet, Rogers Digital Cable and all Basic and Ultimate TV Pak channels plus so much more altogether in one package.



- Digital-quality picture and sound on the TV you currently own
- Interactive Program Guide that lets you surf and watch with picture in picture
- Hundreds of movies
- Timeshifting – watch from up to 5-different time zones
- Up to 40 Digital Music Channels

- Fast – Surf and download at high speed
- Convenient – No second phone line required!
- Easy – No need to log-on or dial-up
- Flexible – Download loans and associated materials

Stop waiting. Start surfing.

On Canada's Most Advanced Digital Network

Call 1-866-BUNDLE4, visit [www.rogers.com](http://www.rogers.com) or Rogers Video to order the Incredible Rogers Bundle that's right for you.

[illegible]





## THE VIEW FROM AFAR

We are removed from the conflict, but we shouldn't ignore the lessons of war

FAR FROM the reach of Canada's media, I found out about the attack in Iraq the same way as much of the rest of the world by watching CNN. In this case, the TV set was in a corner of the beach bar at the Caribbean resort where my family and I spent last week. There, the various talking heads seemed almost buoyant, offering up the same information in new every few minutes, as producers jump cut from an Atlanta-based anchor to someone in Washington to someone else somewhere in the Middle East.

The curious thing was the near complete lack of interest—whether real or feigned—among the people where we were staying. It was as if we had all reached an unspoken agreement not to let this ruin our vacation. On the one hand, a Caribbean resort isn't necessarily the most representative place to judge the world mood. On the other, perhaps that's not true: this all-exclusive place where families do, eat, and play at close quarters was about evenly divided between French and North American guests. The French sat at the south end of the pool, and chatted together in the far end of the main restaurant. The Americans assembled in a more leisurely, so that the two groups held sides by each while seldom actually meeting each other. The Canadians, especially those who spoke French, wandered rather apologetically between the two groups—looking embarrassed at the prospect of being too identified with either one.

The only other note I've had a similar experience was also in the Caribbean, in the mid-1980s when Michel Baby Doc Duvalier was being pushed from power. At the height of the fighting, I drove into a small town—and found a group of Canadians dutifully ignoring the violence. They had come for fun, sun and a good rest, and they were trying hard to get their money's worth.

There, the war was just outside the resort's doors. This time, it was half a world away. In both instances, it's easy to make that head-in-the-sand belief—but I'd have to be inside myself if I did so. After I saw the

news last week, I spent the rest of the day playing with the kids.

In another way, our lovely resort also reminded me of our place as North Americans in the overall global context. We stayed in a Caribbean country, but we weren't really part of it. We had supreme security, a private beach, North American-style food. The only locals we met were employees. As North Americans we have the same kind of privileged place. On a societal level, that's the result of a combination of the fruits of democracy and hard work, coupled with stinking good luck. Travelling abroad, we're used to being treated odd, and we're used to being liked—or at least seeing people fawn obsequiously, because they can't afford not to do so.

Much of the world where North Americans go to travel for their pleasure—places like the Middle East, or Asian countries like Indonesia and now even Thailand—is made tingling with danger that is once war. Even Europe, while largely safe, has turned against Americans. The present conflict, even as it's hard to imagine the U.S. losing (and I would n't want it to, of course), will only heighten existing divisions and contribute to new ones. Victims may get the spoils—but they seldom receive thanks as well.

In some ways, the world is about to change—probably not in big ways for most North Americans, but rather a series of small ones. Affluent, comfortable, and removed from most of the world's danger zones, we're used to watching hardship, not living it. Now, in our wish to preserve the status quo, we risk ignoring the reasons why, so in many other parts of the world, change is what they want more than anything else.

*Anthony Wilson-Smith*

antonio@maclean.ca or comment on TheEditor's Letter

## MACLEAN'S

EDITOR: ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

## Editor

Anthony Wilson-Smith

General Editors

David G. Smith, David G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

John G. Smith, John G. Smith

Editorial Assistant

## Art Department

Art Director: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

Art Assistant: John G. Smith

Art Editor: John G. Smith

MACLEAN'S



your editor that within the company, top and bottom of employee life are connected in some way, 1,000 words.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

WE'VE JUST REACHED: Our website now reaches 1 million people.

Need pain relief that works as long as you do? New TYLENOL 8 HOUR relieves tough muscle pain for up to 8 hours.

For a Trial Offer visit [www.TYLENOL8HOUR.ca](http://www.TYLENOL8HOUR.ca)



'Bush behaves as if he has a right to speak for the world. But his decisions threaten global security, both in terms of terrorism and global unity.'

—Sara Kaplan, Ottawa

Letters to the Editor: [themail@canada.com](mailto:themail@canada.com)

#### The die is cast

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." Let's hope that the U.S. will heed George Santayana's warning when it steps out into daylight ("War in any case," *The Iraq Crisis*, March 17). There is no doubt that Saddam Hussein must be removed, but I fear that some things will remain the same. "He might be a bloodthirsty tyrant, but he's our bloodthirsty tyrant." It is true that the purpose of American interests in a treaty to replace Saddam's regime, with one friendly to U.S. interests, would play right into the hands of the kind of extremists to whom Osama bin Laden is an inspirational figure. I hope the U.S. has learned that short-sighted pragmatism is detrimental to its long-term interests, which are better served by fostering democracy throughout the Arab world—which, incidentally, will also ensure the long-term security of Israel.

Michael Rayburn, Toronto

President Bush has performed the nearly impossible feat of driving support for his administration from the hearts of a loving world just 9/11 to the depths of scorn and derision today. Not that his objective of Saddam's demise is wrong, but his modest approach is certainly so. His aggressive arm games and displays for anyone or anything else, his open bribery of nations to win a UN vote all bring sorrow to who genuinely admire and love America.

A.B. McKay, Ottawa

Angerance does not describe the United States view of the outside world. We are just being us. You are absolutely on target, however, to describe the U.S. as different after September 2001. We are learning about the outside world. We are listening. But make no mistake, we are very proud. We could not have better leadership at this juncture. We will fix the problem.

Pete Farnham, Sioux, W.V.

As a long-term fan of Michael's and of Canada, I would like to assure Canadian readers



is itself playing into the hands of extremists

that a large and growing number of Americans oppose the Bush administration's attack on Iraq and are appalled by Bush's denunciations, gaffs alone, itself the rest of the world foreign policy if the Canadian national question is one of identity, not a war. That this American thinks Canada is doing just fine and wishes that her own country would follow his example.

Brand Miller, Iowa City, Iowa

What I like most about Michael's is his diversity. In the March 17 issue there is a column by Barbara Amiel ("Why civilized people kill") and an interview with Dr. David Swanson ("War is not the answer" and the same subject—the effect of war on the Iraqi people). Not surprisingly, Dr. Swanson, who decided to put his money where his mouth is and became a peace activist, came up with quite a different picture from Amiel's terrorism. Her plan for a question, "What to do with a tyrant, without hurting his people?" was answered successfully by Dr. Swanson left the sanctions it's pretty hard to become active in politics when people have to spend all their energies on staying alive. They are the only ones who can get rid of Saddam Hussein and build democracy for them, not Bush or Blair's way.

R.A. Galters, Coquitlam, B.C.

Lapsed fan of my countryman in the early '60s in Antwerp, Belgium, as a result of a job transfer by my father. The Second World War had been over for some 17 years when I arrived, but the memory was still fresh in the minds of the country. Two things people on this side of the Atlantic have no idea of: the dangers of appeasement and, sadly, it appears that too many of our "allies" have forgotten those dangers.

Neil Roberts, Livingston, Ont.

Barbara Amiel asks where the protesters were when Saddam gassed his people. In 1968, when he gassed the Kurds of southern Iraq, Saddam was firmly on the list of U.S. allies. In this respect, the atrocity was shrugged off by both governments and media in the West.

John R. Anderson, Windsor, Ont.

Barbara Amiel once again delivers words of common sense. I am shocked at how short are the memories of so many. As for waiting for the UN, why did we wait the opinion of a group of untrained diplomats who have failed miserably to make timely decisions in the past. Also, are memories so short that we can allow the moral capital of China, the butcher of Tiananmen? And as for such a French and the Russian are concerned, the U.S. will be there for them once again when they need them. I'm sure, but then again, memories are pretty short.

Lindsay Lewis, Port Huron, Ont.

Barbara Amiel says that war is justified only to protect our own interests. Susan Polk saw made a day to find an argument with people around the world who do not have enough to eat. ("A day without food," Over to You, March 17). Of the two approaches—sacrificing others to maintain ourselves, or sacrificing something of our selves for the sake of others—I suspect the latter provides a greater traction on the road to a global future.

Rick Jorjic, Winnipeg

#### 'Pluck of the Irish'

Congratulations to Sharon Doyle Devedge for her colourful depiction of our beloved Galtstown in "The Pluck of the Irish" (*Cover*, March 17). Her article revived fond memories of life in our poor but proud borough, with its unforgettable characters and local institutions. Although it is now re-

luctant Pluck, a place to take things easy, chit out and have some real fun. The Triumph Speedmaster, another way to get the same R very British take on the classic cruiser: sleek parallel turn with a distinctive looping exhaust pipe. Flat bars, wide forks, low seat height and feet-forward foot for the right laid back attitude. Matte black engine and minimal chrome for a sharper, sportier look. The Triumph Speedmaster Crowdpuller.

## PIER GROUP ENVY

A FEELING OF TRIUMPH

ferred to as *Feu de bois* (fire), nothing can pass over the vital part of Montreal's Irish heritage which developed its own spirited brand of Quebec's *pot de vin*.  
Gordon McGinnis, Toronto, Ont.

"The pluck of the Irish" he close to the bone as I was there the day the Liberator bomber crashed at Griffins in April 1964. Our army unit was on a exercise at the William Lyon Mackenzie Institute, one block from the crash. We were the first on the scene to help survivors, without finding many. Our captain instructed us to get to the wounded and give them cigarettes to calm them, despite the fact that most were on fire. There was a family of Doyle's and another of Malins who lived nearby and who are in the photo that I have of our unit at a Christmas party that Mrs. Malins threw for us in 1964. Thanks for the memory.  
Bert Morrison, Ont. Ont.



Home to Irish immigrants: Seeing the potato famine, Griffins saw its share of disaster.

As a first-generation visible-minority immigrant I can relate to the difficulties the Irish must have faced and why some joined themselves to English, French or children, with an English mother and a successful professional father, were often accepted at school. For my part, I find it hard to bite my tongue when Canadians who cannot put a correct sentence together find fault with my accent.  
Suzanne Jaki, Calgary

#### Tolerance on display

In an issue that celebrates Griffins' Irish (now Montreal's Silver Valley), Victor Sullivan calls for a tolerance message is timely ("A measure of tolerance," *Issue*, March 17). Overdue even. Not only were Japanese "enemy aliens," but so were Italians in Petawawa, Ont., and Germans in New Brunswick. Institutionalized anti-Semitism is well-known, as is slavery in our past. We have quasi-official commemorative holidays like Robt. Burns Day and the Guinness brewery wins an official St. Patrick's Day, when we have yet to declare our official holiday for a First Nations' leader. We may designate February for Black History Month, but Canada has a long way to go in accepting its indigenous past.  
Michele Bonhomme, Montreal

We need more than a national museum of tolerance; we need a Canadian Peace Research Institute—again. In 1963, Dr. Nor-

man Alcock and his wife, Patricia, founded CPRI in Oshawa, Ont. At its peak, it was supported by 6,000 individuals, never by governments or corporations. A measure of a crisis today as the Peace Research Institute, Toronto, run by Dr. Henry Nowotny and dedicated to publishing and disseminating the results of worldwide studies on conflict resolution. The CPRI in 1963 was probably ahead of its time, but time has caught up to it far faster. We need federal worldwide efforts to put our best minds, from many disciplines, to work to find ways to enable us to live in peace with ourselves and our environment.

Betty Pepper, Toronto, Ont.

#### Assistless PM

My interest in politics began as a young Conservative in the Dufferin-Bell years, and I still cherish my autographed copy of *Our Canada*, so the chances that I might become a professor at a Liberal or alien to me (Borecard, *The Week*, March 24). But facing Paul Martin, or any other politician, to be a judge has human assets in order to run for Canada's highest office is ridiculous. Do we not want politicians and voters to be honest? I say we need more of these people and fewer political science majors who never had a real job in their lives.  
Bruce Gordon, Toronto, Ont.

#### Heeded in action

What addicts need is strong not coddling, the ending of their addiction, not the facilitation of it. The threat of "Getting addicts off the street" and "balancing progress" (Health, March 17) has little to do with desisting up city streets than anything else. Safe injection sites and clean needle exchanges are cheap methods of fooling the public that something is being done. The problem is that detox and treatment cost a bundle. Governments know this and are not willing to bear the bills. Anything short of bringing an end to addiction is not compassion, but closing your eyes to the living hell the addict is experiencing.  
Bert Winkler, Woodstock, Ont.

Wherever I read about the benefits of needle-exchange programs, the following imaginary scenario comes to mind. A mother is informed that her daughter has died of a heroin overdose. The mother's response is "She said she used only clean needles from the needle exchange. Those people helped kill my daughter! Someone should pay!" And if you think that scenario is implausible, consider some past social experiments that were punished with the best of intentions: Residential schools for Aboriginals, for example.  
Bill Armstrong, Ottawa



## SHARE OUR MOUNTAINS WITH THE WORLD

Adaptive equipment is used to enable people with various abilities and disabilities to enjoy the mountains. Winning the 2010 Games would open the doors to our program and enable many more students and people with various disabilities to come and take part. It changes their life. It gives them the thrill of gravity. And gravity certainly has no boundaries.

Jaymick McGrath & Genevieve Halle  
Whistler Adaptive Ski Program, Whistler, BC

Show your support at [winter2010.com](http://winter2010.com)



VANCOUVER 2010  
CANDIDATE CITY

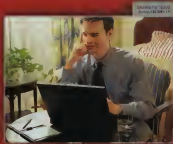
Canada



IT'S OUR TIME  
TO SHINE



Ever lose business  
↓  
to someone with  
better connections?



Never again.

If you and your company aren't using notebooks from Toshiba, the world's number 1 seller of notebooks, you're missing a significant business advantage. Not only are Toshiba notebooks extremely competitively priced, our Satellite Pro™ G100 series notebooks will keep you connected so you can work where and when you want. And that means increased productivity. Toshiba's Satellite Pro™ G100 is powered by the Mobile Intel® Pentium® 4 Processor - M. Toshiba's notebooks are wireless networking ready. Our Satellite Pro™ features a Microsoft® Windows® XP Professional Operating System. And our proprietary power management

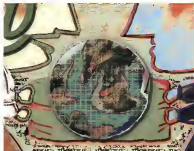
system allows you to optimize your battery life. Plus, additional security and the peace of mind of Toshiba's famous quality and International warranty back you wherever you work in the world. Take a look at our full range of products including hard-hats, projectors, tablets, and wireless products. Make a connection that's vital to your business success. Call your IT Solutions Provider, call us, or visit our website.

**TOSHIBA**  
MOBILITY WITHOUT LIMITS

Toshiba recommends Microsoft® Windows® XP Professional for Business. Intel, Pentium, and the Intel Inside logo are trademarks or registered trademarks of Intel Corporation or its subsidiaries in the United States and other countries. Toshiba and Satellite are trademarks of Toshiba Corporation. © 2004 Toshiba Corp. All rights reserved. Intel, the Intel Inside logo and Windows are registered trademarks of Intel Corporation.

1.800.7.TOSHIBA | [www.shop Toshiba.ca/mobility](http://www.shop Toshiba.ca/mobility)

## MACLEAN'S BEHIND THE SCENES



### MAXIMIZE MACLEAN'S WITH MACLEAN'S.CA

News, information and entertainment at your fingertips—that's the mandate of Maclean's.ca. Maclean's on-line persona is designed for Canadians who want to go beyond the magazine's pages, with material that complements, without duplicating, its content, says Derek Chetz, On-line Editor.

"Maclean's.ca delivers added value with instant access to interactive features, valuable resources and in-depth information about news, sports, business, politics and culture," says Chetz. "And this year, we're adding more depth to major features covered in the magazine."

Maclean's.ca is finding favour with an increasing number of Web-savvy Canadians, he adds. "The site currently gets about 3.5 million hits a month, up a million from six months ago."

In addition to viewing articles from the current issue and searching the archives for previous issues, visitors can click through to a variety of features and services. The interactive Canada Switchboard invites readers to weigh in on the week's events—including the Question of the Week polls and related perspectives from top Maclean's columnists.

The Photo Gallery offers an exclusive collection of photographs—many of which haven't appeared in the magazine. Visitors can view images from film festivals and famous faces to hockey highlights and past covers. "We recently added the Genie Awards and, in April, we'll add coverage of the Junos," says Chetz.

Culture is a virtual lifestyle section, where Maclean's.ca readers can find the latest reviews of films, music, books and television—plus entertaining features on people and places. Plans are underway to add interactive games and trivia.

So whether you can't wait for your print copy of Maclean's to arrive, you're looking for an earlier article, or you want entertainment with substance, Maclean's.ca is the answer.

For further information contact: [behindthescenes@maclean.ca](mailto:behindthescenes@maclean.ca)

Put these together  
for a great  
business solution.



Toshiba's ultra-slim Pocket PC.



Toshiba's ultralight projector.



Toshiba's Tough™ R100 series with Intel Inside Pentium® 4 Processor - M.

**TOSHIBA**  
MOBILITY WITHOUT LIMITS

When you enjoy the comforts of Coast you can  
 still a luxurious Regatta game on hand made of  
 natural Nappa leather. There are two ways to  
 qualify for this great reward. Stay 12 times or spend  
 12 nights with us between November 1st, 2002 and  
 April 30th, 2003 or stay 36 times or spend 36 nights  
 between November 1st, 2002 and October 31st, 2003.  
 Ask for details at any participating Coast hotel or  
 visit [www.coasthotels.com](http://www.coasthotels.com).

Now available in all our new US locations

Coast Hotels & Resorts 

For reservations call:  
1-800-663-7144  
or online at:  
[www.coasthotels.com](http://www.coasthotels.com)

*Vancouver Downtown, Vancouver Airport, Abbotsford, St. John's, Inuvik, Nuwagwan, Fort Albert, Coquitlam, Campbell River, Fraser Canyon, Terrace, Prince George, Kamloops, Williams Lake, Agassiz, Mission, Revelstoke, Calgary, Edmonton, Dawson Creek and Edson.*

## A high-angle, black and white photograph capturing a massive crowd of people gathered on a city street. The crowd, composed of men, women, and children, fills the left and center portions of the frame. A long, narrow path has been cleared through the crowd, leading towards the right. On the right side of the image, a train with several passenger cars is visible, moving along the tracks. The scene suggests a significant public event or protest.

**J.Gary Carr:** Omer is Spencer sports grassroots results required that, even primary. TV time. Even, for his plans to deliver March 27 budget from television station. Planned 'people's budget' now such a PK nightmarer, Even forced to visit halls for a clean-cut address.

**▼ John Manley:**  
Finance minister decides to enter Liberal leadership race in heady circumstances. Wife out, big tax, a deadly snake. Liberal announcement comes same day U.S. press gives Saddam 48 hours to get out of Kuwait. Hello, hello, is this phone working?

**WPA Union Fighters.** The U.S. claims 44 nations make up its anti-Communist "coalition of the willing." Just that 25 of them claim to be identified. Interesting concept—what if they had a war ending one day?

▼The Oscars handshaking over low-mouth girls. It's almost the usual Times-bow-backslap as a dime of star takes an Hollywood proposition. Congratulate—no grumpy red-carpet welcome—sparkles, low-quality content, celebrities pushing their own sides.

**Tim Hortons:** With world on emotional prowl, Canada's largest donut maker cuts back on comfort food, hoards gardeners to too-generous than dessert for a standard slice-or-less. But all up those toppings.

As nearly 200,000 Americans, British and Australian troops marched their way into Iraq, a much larger contingent of anti-war protestors took to the streets in literally every corner of the world. It was a showpiece that appeared to gather momentum each passing day. Peace marches were held in several Canadian cities, and also on tape centres in Australia, India, Thailand, Japan and Pakistan. There was even a roadshow protest in Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

In the U.S., police arrested over 1,500 demonstrators, mostly in San Francisco and Philadelphia, as crowds in the tens of thousands marched through many of that country's largest cities. Muslim countries were hesitant for massive street demonstrations.

over the two weekend. But in the early 1980s it was Franco that led the way. An estimated 150,000 Italians, mostly students, flooded the streets of Rome in the war began. More than 100,000 demonstrated in Athens, and large numbers in other cities as Greek labour unions, with government support, declared a five-hour strike that shut down banks and airports. Many schools called for a boycott of American goods, but a major line of U.S. cities pro-Anetians took aim at former allies. Few were immune. The New York Post urged a boycott not just of French news but of Hollywood actors who dared oppose the war effort, and a Florida radio network took in "Canada calling" news segments for weekends off the air.

More than 100,000  
marched in front  
of the United States  
embassy in Athens.

American-born Canadian, a former MP, served in the military whose son, Dennis, is a staff sergeant with the U.S. Army in Kuwait.





**SHATTERED SHUTTLE** A data recorder that somehow survived the breakup of the space shuttle Columbia Feb. 1 is the last of 38,000 pieces under scrutiny at the Kennedy Space Center at Cape Canaveral, Fla. NASA says it may never know the exact cause of the disaster, investigators suspect the left wing was weakened, possibly by launch delays 20 days earlier, allowing staining gases into the landing gear compartment.

## WORLD

**MIDDLE EAST** In a harrowing, near-unanimous vote, the Palestinian parliament rejected President Yasser Arafat's *Basij* militia on a new peace machine, forcing him to devote considerable cabinet-making power to a new co-leader. Arafat selected long-time deputy, Mahmoud Abbas, for the job, a choice welcomed in Tel Aviv and Washington, where Abbas had been involved in peace negotiations a decade ago.

**AMERICAN JUSTICE** The trial took less than a day, the verdict was delivered almost in a twinkling: anti-abortion extremist James Kopp was found guilty of second-degree murder in the *superkilling* of Buffalo, N.Y., gynecologist Dr. Barnett Slepian in 1998, then while hosting soup in his kitchen. Kopp acknowledged killing Slepian, pocketing his sharpshooting and firing the high-powered rifle, but claimed he was only aiming to

wound. He has also been charged in the 1995 shooting of Dr. Hugh Short of Ancaster, Ont., and is wanted for questioning in three other similar incidents.

Utah prosecutors charged financial pyrotechnic Brian Mitchell and his wife, Wanda Burrows, with kidnapping and sexual assault in the case of Elisabeth Smart, 15, the Mormon girl held captive for nine months after being taken from her home in the middle of the night. Mitchell told his lawyer he considers himself his wife and want her named Kenneth "Who Will Return."



**BANNED** Spain's highest court upheld a controversial new law designed to outlaw the regional party *Bascista*, which Madrid says is the political wing of the violent Basque separatist group ETA. *Bascista* denies it is

affiliated with ETA. The law allows a lower court to dissolve parties deemed to give to their active or tacit support to terrorism.

**POWER GRAB** Residents of the tiny European principality of Lichtenstein have voted overwhelmingly to give ruling Prince Hans-Adam II increased powers to veto laws, dissolve governments and appoint judicial nominees. The referendum followed a threat by Hans-Adam to vacate the tiny *taxhaven* and live next door in Austria.

**WIRETAPS** Electronic bugs were found in the offices of five EU delegations—France, Germany, Spain, Britain and Austria—in a Brussels complex used to host European seminars. Some newspapers quoted sources blaming the U.S. EU officials would only say the bugs were "totally professional."

**PLUT** White-power extremists in South Africa succeeded to kill former president and Nobel

Clear your weekend.



Congratulations to Paulette Jiles, winner of the year's Rogers Writers' Trust Fiction Prize for her novel *Enemy Women*, published by Harper/Ramgo Canada. We'd also like to congratulate nominees Terry Griggs (*Diagnose*, published by Random House Canada), Ann Ireland (*Exile*, published by The Dundurn Group), Lori Lattawa (*Rush Horse Road*, published by Alfred A. Knopf Canada) and Nina Ricci (*Testament*, published by Doubleday Canada).

**ROGERS**

Peace Prize winner Nelson Mandela by blowing up his car, according to a prosecution in December against 23 alleged plotters. The alleged assassination was part of an anti-state coup plot to install a white military junta.

## CANADA

**TWENTY-FIVE FIRE** A military hearing recently awarded against court-martial and criminal charges in the case of U.S. pilot Harry Schmidt and William Umbach, responsible for the deaths of four Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan last year. The presiding officer said there was enough evidence to proceed to court martial but that administrative punishment would serve "the interests of good order and discipline." Families of the slain soldiers were upset by the decision and its timing—the day following the U.S. invasion of Iraq. A high-level Canada-U.S. investigation earlier concluded the pilots had shown "reckless disregard" for the rules of engagement when one of them dropped a laser-guided bomb. A final decision resides with U.S. Lt.-Gen. Bruce Carlson.

**ATYNDAD** A Canadian oil worker from Saskatchewan was one of four people killed on a Toronto oil rig in the Persian Gulf when a fellow worker, an Arab who suffered from depression, ran amok. Another Canadian was injured in the attack.

**OSAMA** is pledging a further \$259 million (in aid to war-torn Afghanistan, a doubling of what has been given since 1990) and the



**RESCUED** A 40-year-old man from Amherst, N.S., apparently slipped into the Majors River where he was swept by a raging current to the brink of Canada's Horseshoe Falls—a 51-m drop. He stood, miraculously, for nearly two hours before he was plucked from the perilous by helicopter.

largest Canadian aid commitment made to a single country.

A modest bronze plaque bearing the names of 24 Canadians who died in the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks in the United States, and two U.S. citizens married to Canadians, was unveiled in the Father Sean O'Sullivan Room, a small chamber set aside for meditation in Parliament's East Block.

**ORGAN BROKER** A Vancouver entrepreneur is arranging kidney transplants for U.S. and Canadian recipients in China, on about two weeks' notice, and at a cost of approx-

imately \$112,000. The businessman denies he is buying or brokering organs and says that to the best of his knowledge they don't come from executed prisoners.

**ANVILCHIE** Two American backpackers' skulls were swept away by an avalanche in Solander Glacier Provincial Park near Nelson, B.C., the 16th and 17th avalanche victims in the region since October.

**POLITICS** Newfoundland's Liberal government pledged to revamp provincial election laws and become the second province, after B.C., to have fixed four-year terms.

In a reportedly emotional caucus meeting, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien told potential rivals to work with the government on more money for its controversial gas refinery or sit as independents.

**HELMETS** The number of Ontario children seriously injured while bicycle riding has declined sharply over the past five years since helmets were made mandatory, according to a report by the Canadian Institute for Health Information. Head injuries fell by 26 per cent during that period.

**BUSINESS** War developments shattered the travel industry and prompted Air Canada to invoke the force majeure clause in its union contracts and cut 3,600 jobs. Oil prices declined slightly but markets still trended mostly upward.



**glow**

do good things for yourself

real health.  
real beauty.  
on your own terms.

**on sale now**

at Chapters, Shoppers Drug Mart and select newsstands across Canada



## Mansbridge on the Record



## TO 'EMBED' OR NOT

Can one travel with American troops and still cover the war objectively?

**AS YOU READ THIS**, reporters from dozens of different news organizations, including some Canadians, are vying to be "embedded" with American forces operating inside Iraq. If you haven't heard about "embedding," and the debate's caused more than the usual controversy, here's the issue in a nutshell: some news organizations have lapsed at the chance to have their people at the tip of the U.S. military offensive, instead of being kept far behind the lines, where they are "spied" by daily briefings. Some other news organizations have turned the opportunity down, arguing that living and working alongside soldiers in combat runs the risk of making the relationship too close to cover the wider story objectively. Many about the debate in a moment, but first let's look at what embedding, should it gain support, could mean if it were widely adopted.

How about being embedded in the press room of a major oil company? It may seem how they come up with these decisions that make our problem prices spike quickly yet cover down slowly after every fluctuation in the oil market? Does anyone else find it odd that in the months leading up to war, the press room dramatically on fans of what a conflict would mean, and then as soon as it became clear there would be war, the price dropped?

How about being in a company about to make serious cost-cutting moves? Would embedding help us better understand why, for example, Bombardier had to make the decision it made on its new model? Why its executives wanted to profit margins that didn't meet expectations by slashing jobs and plants—see those days the outrage, as odd as it seems as they often appear from a distance, or would embedding offer another angle?

Then there's being inside the Prime Minister's Office for his final months in power, imagine getting an unfiltered view of some of the decisions that are bound to come up when the next legacy building block be-

and why will Jean Chrétien pick up, will any of the decisions made be directly linked to trying to sabotage Paul Martin's future? Will Chrétien's long-time aide Eddie Goldberg get a Senate seat as part of some lengthy brief McGowan's eventual resignation. But just before the PM leaves office.

Of course not every embedding has to be in a serious vein. Imagine those ready to volunteer for the assignment of going inside the Toronto Maple Leafs' organization as the team heads out onto the playoffs in search of their first Stanley Cup in... well, as a very long time. Of course, it might be a short assignment, but such are the perils of embedding.

What about getting a seat at the table when Opposition members of Parliament respond their strategy for attacking the government? You could find out why they never see a chance to find opponents for "scandalous" or "outspoken." Or how about one go inside the media itself. If interest from newspapers embedding with a news program TV critic in an attempt to understand how those in that job make a living from something they don't understand. But suppose that idea could not go two ways.

The first and only one, in some cases, due to compromise. Meanwhile, out there on the battlefield, real journalists are dealing with real embedding. Some of their initial reports are giving us insight into war not seen since journalists crossed fields with the troops in Vietnam, but the debate will continue about whether the access is worth the deal that was made to get it. It's an important issue, one that probably won't be decided until the post-war period, when the journalists being allowed right now, under conditions unlike any in a generation, will be assessed by all involved. And then we'll see what, if anything, may be next.

Peter Mansbridge is Chief Correspondent of CBC Television News and Author of *The National* to comment: 416-977-0644 or [comment.4169770644@cbc.ca](mailto:comment.4169770644@cbc.ca)

## Passages

**LEFT** In 1997, Ottawa's Diane Swemer, her husband Herbert, and their three young boys set out to travel the world by sailboat. Swemer, who had overcome skin cancer, filed reports of their adventures on the *Ottawa Citizen* during their travels. Those columns netted Swemer—and \$50,000—for different humanitarian causes the Swemers became involved in throughout their journey.



They returned to their home five years later and Swemer wrote the best-seller, *The Voyage of the North-east Magic: A Family Odyssey*. Earlier this year, her skin cancer returned. Swemer, 43, died last week.

**NOMINATED** Two Canadians have been named to international book-prize lists. The Ash Gables author Dennis Bock, of Guelph, Ont., is one of eight writers vying for the \$100,000 Dublin IMPAC award. And Carol Eick-Ma's novel *Delia* is on the long list for the Orange Prize, a \$70,000 British award for which only women are eligible.

**POSTPONED** Colleen Donohue has decided not to make a star on Hollywood's Walk of Fame, saying she'd rather work to "achieve that milestone in my career." During a tour of the walk, however, lunch her new Las Vegas residency on March 23. Don, 35, will play Caesars Palace, in a new act known built specifically for her show, for three years and will earn \$150 million. Last week, named actress Michael Douglas and Catherine Zeta-Jones took out a congratulatory full-page ad in *Entertainment* magazine saying, "Colleen, we can't wait to see your show. All our best wishes."

**APPOINTED** Despite the fact that the federal government has accused Michael Okech of being a Nazi war criminal, revoked his citizenship in 2001 and is trying to deport him, the 79-year-old retired physician, Okech, developer has applied for federal citizenship status in Canada—sponsored by his wife and daughter. The Department of Citizenship and Immigration said the application would likely be put on hold pending the outcome of the deportation process, which could drag on for years.



## Choosing the right university has never been more crucial. We'll help you decide.

In this year of the double edgers, it's more important than ever to find the perfect fit between you and the right post-secondary institution. *The Maclean's Guide to Canadian Universities 2003* is an indispensable tool that has everything you need to help make this difficult decision easier.

- Profiles of the 68 schools
- Co-op and internship opportunities
- Average entering grades
- Most popular majors
- Tuition and scholarship information
- Residence and meal options

*The Maclean's Guide to Canadian Universities 2003* gives you all that, plus Maclean's exclusive university rankings, which evaluate schools based on resources, reputation and more. Edited by five-time National Magazine Award-winner Ann Downie, *The Maclean's Guide to Canadian Universities 2003* is ideal for high school students of all ages and their concerned parents. Find it on newsstands or order on line.

## GET YOUR COPY TODAY

Look for displays at Chapters, Indigo, Great Canadian News, Bay Airport stores and other fine retailers. Call 1-800-363-4434 or at Toronto 416-296-3430 (quote Reservation Code M37000740). Order on line: [www.macleans.ca/2003guide](http://www.macleans.ca/2003guide)

**MACLEAN'S**

Canada. In depth.



**ROGERS**

# COLLATERAL DAMAGE

Diplomacy finally failed and war began. What will the ultimate costs be?

COVER

**THE PALE LIGHT** of new daylight barely creeps over Baghdad when war rockets come across the desert sands and slammed into Saddam Hussein's palace, military offices, pressed bedrooms. By the explosive standards of modern warfare, the initial strike was "restrained," and it seemed if "decapitating" the Iraqi leadership, according to the U.S. military and the almost giddy news variation at the CNN anchor desk. It was also the bombardment heard round the world.

The contrast between the almost solemn confidence of George W. Bush's Washington and an international community—Canada included—stunned at America's unbridled politics could not have been more pronounced. Many world leaders condemned the U.S.-led invasion, even as huge numbers of people took to the streets in mass anti-war demonstrations from Athens to San Francisco to Tokyo, literally the world over.

But there would be no denying the American resolve to rid Iraq of its tyrannical tyrant. Whence the fact that the attack went ahead almost immediately upon the expiration of Bush's 48-hour deadline to Saddam to leave the country, and that it didn't even await the cloak of darkness. A potent symbol of America's technological might—and, more importantly, it raised the prospect that high-level Iraqi were briefing local CIA operatives on where Saddam might be hiding.

What followed was the real boom of war: U.S. and British armies captured the Persian Gulf port city of Umm-Qasr and began their push toward the oil fields of Basra. At night, more bombs rained down on the Iraq capital. To the world's east, no numbers were yet available for Iraqi casualties, but 11 American and 14 British troops had paid the ultimate price. The collateral damage looked so much worse beyond the battlefield. Mikhail Gorbachev, the man who helped end the Cold War and gave impetus behind-the-scenes support to the allied cause against Saddam in 1991, didn't mince words: "I believe not only that this war is unjustified, it is a major political mistake." That was not the mood at the White House, where the President went to bed only after announcing the beginning of hostilities and, his orders repeated, sleep soundly.

ROBERT SHIFFRIN

First came the so-called decapitation strikes, and then full-scale bombardment



Protests against the war took place in Jordan (left) and other countries in the region; the scene at the Iraqi Kuwait border (above right); some Iraqi troops began surrendering



Cover

# TURMOIL IN THE MIDEAST

The attack on Iraq has hardened Arab opinion against the U.S., reports **JONATHAN GATEHOUSE** in Amman

KILOMETRES down the highway, past the houses of exiles, the roadside traders and multiple army checkpoints, the men with the violin in a handbag are at the Iraqi border, observing, in the gathering desert darkness. The crossing at Jordan's eastern frontier is open, the road to Baghdad still possible for those courageous or foolhardy enough to disregard the threat of American fighter jets and the fiery men of cruise missiles that swirls about at the other end. "I am Little Moore, a sponsored elementary school teacher from Rochester, N.Y., is determined to offer his

body as a human shield. He departed from home the night before George W. Bush announced that war had begun, among the credit card and leaving his wife to explain things to their three daughters and his boss. "I hoped to go to Baghdad to cheer people up," the veteran activist says. "Play my violin, sing, dance—make the most of being here. If I can in a small way give people in this region the sense that all Americans aren't against them, I will have succeeded."

Saddam Hussein's men at the border are not easily charmed by folk tales. Strick-

to the end, they have sent Little Moore back to Amman to beg for a visa. But in the war intensifies, it will take more than small gestures of goodwill to convince Iraqis and many of their neighbors that Americans—whether they bear arms or casual musicians—have their best interests at heart.

The "shock and awe" images of flaring missile-rocket clouds rising over the Baghdad skyline, spelling doom television sets each evening, have hardened already skeptical Arab opinion about British and U.S. efforts to depose Saddam and his henchmen. The

first days of military action sparked violent protests throughout the Middle East. In Amman, Yemen, a crowd of more than 5,000 tried to storm the U.S. embassy, chanting "Death to America!" Two demonstrators were shot dead. Police in Cairo, Bahrain, and Lebanon also clashed with protesters.

In Jordan, crowds of students, union members and lawyers defied government restrictions, marching through the streets of Amman and chanting anti-U.S. slogans. All of Friday prayers, 7,000 residents of the Wadai Palestinian refugee camp, just out-

side the capital, gathered on an athletic field, chanting, "Where are the Arab armies?" and "We will not give up on Saddam." Weapons and riot police exchanged stones and rubber bullets. Seven people were arrested.

Perhaps more than any other Arab nation, Jordan is engaged in a precarious balancing act between the interests of its closely ally America and the emotions of its population. Steering a radically different course from his late father's during the first Gulf War, King Abdullah has opened his country's air-

space and military bases to coalition forces (the numbers are being kept secret, but best estimates suggest that some 6,000 U.S., British and, reportedly, Israeli special forces personnel have been deployed along the 150-km border with Iraq). The number of missiles being launched from Jordan seems certain to grow. In return, it is expected that the U.S. may more than double the US\$460 million in military and economic aid it gives the kingdom each year. Enough to make up for the loss of cheap Iraqi oil (Baghdad had given Jordan a sweetheart

deal/dan has submitted the local economy. But the King has set himself a grand task in convincing Jordanians that actively backing the U.S. is the best way to further the country's interests. Public anger was already running high over the 30-month Palestinian intifada, which many see as a direct result of America's pro-Israel foreign policy (about half of Jordan's population of 5.5 million are Palestinian refugees). There are also clear historic ties to Iraq. A January poll showed 88 per cent of Jordanians were opposed to lending any aid to a U.S. attack.

Last week, King Abdullah took to the airwaves to plead for calm and understanding. "We used all our relations with influential countries in the world and worked with all possible means to avert this war and its catastrophic ramifications," he said. "I know the pain and anger you are feeling because of the suffering and the ordeal that the Iraqi people are facing. But let us all be one hand, one family, one heart, and let us work to the spirit of one state in order to preserve our security and stability."

The sentiment on Jordan's streets, among both rich and poor, suggests the King and his government are moving against the tide. Though the hot anger of the demonstrations there is weariness, frustration and a deep sense of alienation between the rulers and the ruled. In the al-Husseini Palestinian refugee camp near the center of Amman, shoppers and merchants at the market are universally in their condemnation of the war on Iraq and Jordan's part in it. Applying a plaster to pieces of goat on his brother's



**Some say that when U.S. forces raised the Stars and Stripes over Umm Qasr it revealed the true American strategy: occupation**

brother, Abdul Munem Obeid struggles to put his emotions into words. "It's a crime," he says, growing to spit his words on his hand-stained coat. "But he wants to do this for peace, but he is doing a separating the Christian and the Muslim world. Nothing good will come from this."

Outside, on the street, Mohammed Rifa'i is cracking crates of dried tomatoes. Told and slight, with a few tomatoes, he wears a Palestinian-flag headband and talks with

the brands displayed by most 18-year-old boys. "All that we hope is that the government will open the border and let us go fight," he says. "We will not let the Americans alone. I will even take my mother to fight."

In the plaza in front of Amman's historic al-Husseini mosque, a group of laborers are stopping. They uniformly denounce U.S. and British efforts to tie the war to a new "road map" for peace in neighboring Israel and the occupied territories. "They're only mentioning it now because they want to divert the attention of the Arab world and divide opinion in the streets," says Rahim, Abdullah Rahim, 74, a Palestinian whose family left Nabulus more than a generation ago. "Because of the jobs of the Iraqi government, it's not going to be the Arabs against the United States, it's going to be the world against America," predicts his friend Abdulrahman Khameis.

In Sweifeh, an upscale neighborhood of western boutiques and cafes, an older man in a traditional burqa is taking shelter from the rain, admiring the Carter watch on a jeweler's window. In perfect English—the by-product of an M.A. in California and an engineering Ph.D. in Colorado—he explains his opposition to the war. "It's true that the Iraqi people would be better off without Saddam," he says, "but this is not the way to go about it, by destroying Iraq." He expresses admiration for the people of the United States, but hatred for its "devilish" government. "It is dangerous—that can't be said—because it's not only against Iraq, but the UN as well," he says. "And I am ashamed of



International aid workers are bracing for a humanitarian catastrophe within Iraq—and a flood of refugees to camps in Jordan

what my government has done. This is a democratic regime. It's not representing the interests of the people." He will not give his name.

Abd al-Latif Anisweh, older spokesman of the Islamic Action Front, the largest political party, says the protests will grow both at home and abroad. "We have only a few restrictions of freedom here," he says, pinching the air between his thumb and index finger. "We are using it." People in the Arab world are beginning to stand up to their rulers, he says, to express their desire for a unified opposition to U.S. Middle East meddling. "It's very clear to me that the Americans had a plan long before Sept. 11," says Anisweh. U.S. foreign policy is raising, then quickly taking down, the Stars and Stripes over the Iraqi port city of Umm Qasr on the weekend opening of their true plan—occupation, not liberation, he says. "In the last century, the British and the French colonized as a very devious way by promising to free us from the Ottomans and educate our people. This time, in this cowboy manner, it's not clever at all. People here are starting to awaken to what is going on."

While Anisweh and his colleagues in the IAF are committed to change through peaceful democratic means, there is concern among Western governments that such

thrusts and emotions, along with the television cameras from Baghdad, could help feed a Saddamist apocalyptic doctrine, capitalism and jihadism working throughout the Middle East. Most foreign airlines have cancelled their service to the region, and others of the United States, Britain, Canada and most European countries have been advised to curtail travel. Those working here have been counselled to leave, or, if that is impractical, at least keep a low profile and my away from such public places as bars, health clubs and shopping malls.

The U.S. and British embassies have suspended all services, and tanks and heavily armed police guard the streets outside the fortress-like diplomatic compounds. The Canadian embassy is maintaining a skeleton staff. Eric Mosier, a local spokesman, said the war majority of Canadians have done so say put for the moment. "Most of our citizens in this country are of Jordanian descent and feel equally at home here as in Canada," he says. "And to date there haven't been any reports of problems."

Security concerns aside, in coming weeks the biggest issue for Jordan and its international partners is the prospect of a humanitarian crisis in Iraq that could send tens of thousands of refugees en masse seeking sustenance and shelter. The International Red

Cross and Red Crescent Society, and the UN's International Organization for Migration, have begun work on two camps to hold up to 30,000 people outside the dusty town of al-Ramthah, about 60 km west of the Iraqi border. So far, the demand for the white canvas tents and outdoor block washrooms set up on the rocky black-and-rain plain has been slow. Last last week, the only activity at the UN camp was workers moving portraits of King Abdullah and a high-wire fence around the perimeter.

By mid-week, fewer than 500 refugees, all from third countries like Sudan, Somalia, Chad and Niger, had crossed the border, and the flow appeared to have stopped as bombing intensified in Baghdad and U.S. forces started taking control of the highway. The Jordanians were not allowing Iraqis to cross, but few had tried—about 15 people were stuck in the kilometers-wide no man's land between the two countries, waiting for permission to enter.

In the cool wind and rain at the Red Cross "creek" camp, several hundred foreign workers from Baghdad were preparing to board buses to Amman's airport and flights to home. Most had started their 11-hour journey to the Jordanian frontier after the first night of bombings. They described a terrifying drive without headlights down a deserted

## A MIX OF OIL AND RELIGION

Iraq is rich in oil but is ruled along religious and ethnic lines. Roughly 60 per cent of its 25.3 million people are Shi'a Arabs, but under Saddam Hussein Iraq has been controlled by Sunni Arabs who make up only 30 per cent of the population. (Sunnis make up about 60 per cent of the remaining 30 per cent.) The Sunni Arabs have benefited the most from oil sales.



highway, punctuated with glimpses of American fighter planes in action. "The cruise missiles were just coming in. There were no air defences," said Amis Mohammed, a Shiite cleric and a former member of the Iraqi parliament who was working in a construction laboratory in the Iraqi capital. "We didn't see any Iraqi missiles anywhere along the road. Maybe they are hiding." Abdul Hameed, a Somali merchant who has lived in Baghdad for the past 20 years, decided to seek safety with his wife and four children. He predicted that the Americans would meet tough resistance from Saddam's Republican Guard. "There's going to be a horrible battle in the city. It's going to be a street-to-street fighting. The Iraqis are really dug in."

Even more than a refugee crisis, the hundreds of international aid workers posed for action in Jordan fear the results within Iraq of a protracted U.S. and British bombing campaign. Impoverished and weakened by more than a decade of international sanctions, the country has few resources to carry the general population through a long conflict. "All humanitarian aid is already in the red zone, and we are very, very concerned," says Monique Tetreault, a spokeswoman for the UN Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq. "The situation is already bad and we'll soon be facing a catastrophe." Even before the hostilities, 80 per cent of Iraqis were fully dependent on international aid groups for food, according to the UN. The quality of water, even when treatment plants are up and running, is questionable. So far, the international community, including Canada, has committed just over US\$250 million to relief efforts, far short of the US\$600 million that some need.

Geoffrey Kiehl, a 34-year-old from Sudan, soon when working for UNICEF in Baghdad until his evacuation earlier this month, says the situation for Iraqi children is even more dire. One in eight die before they reach the age of five. "That's a child mortality rate that is worse than Haiti, Eritrea or Sudan," he notes. One million children are malnourished. In anticipation of a war, UNICEF had been working to distribute high-protein biscuits and milk to children's hospitals, as well as install biogas generators for water treatment and sewage plants. Now Kiehl and his colleagues are gathered in Amman, awaiting clearance to return to Iraq to begin to face the even bigger challenges that loom in the future. "We have left behind a lot of very professional Iraqi colleagues," says Kiehl. "It's a very resource-



## THE U.S. TARGETS SADDAM AS THE UN TAKES STOCK

Where is Saddam Hussein? In the opening salvo of the war, the U.S. fired a barrage of cruise missiles into a leadership compound in Baghdad. Soldiers appeared on television the following day, but analysts believe the broadcast was carefully monitored. He was not seen again, raising speculation that he may have been injured in the attack. There were also rumours that U.S. officials were negotiating with Saddam through a French emissary about leaving his country and accepting exile in Mauritania. Other developments:

■ To ensure the U.S. does not take control of Iraq's rich oil reserves, Russia and France want the UN to administer Iraq following the war. Canadian Foreign Minister Bill Graham agreed, telling the House of Commons the UN

not the United States, should be in charge of rebuilding the country.

■ Reports claimed Turkish commandos had crossed into Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq. But the Turkish government issued a denial, saying that if the army does cross the border it will be to control an expected flood of Kurdish refugees into Turkey.

■ A much-feared ecological disaster was largely avoided with the capture of oil fields. A few wells were set on fire by Iraqi forces, but in the north, U.S. soldiers captured the massive Kirkuk fields, while in the south British and U.S. forces also captured fields as well as Umm Qasr, Iraq's only deep-water port, where it had been feared Iraqi might let oil flow directly with the Persian Gulf.

time for them. The bombs are falling, people are scared. But they're still getting up every morning and going to work, trying to make a difference."

On the barren 200-km stretch of highway between Amman and the Iraqi border, what little traffic there is now can only be divided into three categories: the whole family; those that have become the internationally recognized choice of aid workers, but turned down fleeing journalists; and from the frontier, and the displaced trucks and cars of Iraqi travellers, determined to return home. At the rest stops in the few villages along the way, they congregated at the local shops and tea shops, exchanging scraps of information. In al-Basrah, Mukhammad Awad is sitting in the cab of his beat-up gas-guzzling tanker truck, ambling. It's been 30 days since he left his family in al-Basrah, 130 km west of Baghdad. To date, there hasn't been much action around his town.

"I don't know what will happen—only God knows," he says, before driving away. "I just hope the Americans lose."

Further down the road toward Amman, Mohammed Khawar, an oil trader trying to get back to Iraq, also a reporter in a top shop of his American. "Not that it matters," he's quick to add after receiving a message reply. "As long as you're a civilian." Khawar has two wives and 35 kids waiting at home. "I know I won't be able to get back to Jordan, but I want to make sure my family is OK." He doesn't want to answer questions about what's at stake, or the possible life after Saddam, as he sits outside his daily experience. "It's all about politics and it seems to be a very dirty game," he says. "I think we just hope something good will come out of it." The fighter jets stream overhead, dropping out the rest of his answer. "They're heading east, the same direction as us."

# THE SOURCE CANADIANS TRUST.



JANA NADIN TREHOUT



PAUL WILKINSON



CAROLAN SMITH



PETER MAUGHTRIDGE



PATRICK DOWDY



DON HERRMAN



From Iraq to Washington. From London to Kuwait City. The CBC News team has more correspondents on the ground than any other Canadian news organization. The full story from a Canadian perspective. Every minute of every day. CBC Radio, CBC Television, CBC Newsworld and CBC.ca are there.

CBC NEWS. CANADA'S CHOICE FOR NEWS.

listen . watch . log-on



cbcnews

# CHANGING THE GLOBAL RULES

Washington's strategy reveals U.S. motives and plans for Iraq's future, writes ARTHUR KENT

**EVEN BEFORE** the war machines thundered into action in Iraq, a process of regime change on a global scale—the shifting and fracturing and overthrow of the accepted world order—had been underway for months. The hawks in George W. Bush's administration, armed with their doctrine of unilateral supremacy, have left behind a debris field of diplomatic disruption, complete with their own figurative ground zero, this one in midtown Manhattan, just a few miles north of its tragic forerunner downtown. For although the United Nations headquarters still stands, behind its stork, moonlit facade the building's relations must now pick up the pieces of the alliance.

The UN failed to act against Saddam Hussein's regime in Baghdad, U.S. leaders charged, but America wouldn't. It's a clear, simple statement, but like most do-or-die pronouncements it's essentially misleading: the UN, in fact, failed only to act within a time frame dictated by the Bush administration. A majority of nations on the Security Council resisted the American agenda—and made the President's day. "The Bush administration was not war from the start," says Steven Linquist, senior research fellow at the University of Washington's Center for American Politics and Public Policy. "This is now just a political culture on steroids. The administration has concluded, perhaps correctly, that when a nation spends more than a billion dollars a day on defense—a budget that equals the defense budgets of more than the next dozen national defense budgets combined—that nation doesn't have to worry about diplomacy. Or, so President Bush put it after 9/11, you are either for us or against us."

Which goes double now that guns are doing the talking. Domestically, the White House and Pentagon have sold their war rationale effectively enough to leave critics

typical as dissenters or protesters, the tactic that evolved in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks of mischaracterizing as un-patriotic points of view contrary to the administration's still winning one. Abroad, meanwhile, having opened fire on Iraq over the objections of enemies as formidable as the U.S. administration intends to reshape the landscape in its own image. While the President talks of humanitarian existence, speculators in strategic studies say Washington's plan for rebuilding Iraq are based on far more practical and self-serving objectives. Paul Rogers, a professor in the department of peace studies at Britain's University of Bradford, told *Newsweek*: "The bottom line essentially is that this is not about them [Iraqis] thermal reactors, but long-term control of what is really the world's absolute key energy source. The Gulf is now so important that it would be simply unacceptable to the kind of people controlling the Bush administration not to have control of the area."

That view is shared by many of the world's leading authorities on the politics of oil. Rainer Staudt of economist Ahmed Zaki Yamani points to the Bush administration's marriage about privatizing Iraq's oil industry as proof that the gift of American-style democracy will cost Iraq a good share of control over their most valuable raw resource. And not just for a few years, as, according to Rogers, "I would expect that once the war is over," he says, "there may well be a U.S. military occupation, though they will endeavor to withdraw as quickly as they reasonably can. But what will certainly be left behind is two or three very visible permanent American military bases, one on the Kuwaiti commercial axis, one near Baghdad, and one near Basra. So you'll have a clear grip on Iraq that which is backed up by a permanent U.S. military



presence, where you have the fifth fleet in the Gulf and a series of bases right up to the Turkish border."

This scenario appears to be confirmed by the emerging reconstruction goals detailed in the blueprint distributed to prospective U.S. contractors by the U.S. Agency for International Development. Entitled "Vision for Post Conflict Iraq," the plan provides for nothing less, say its critics, than the creation of a U.S. satellite state. Under the supervision of the State and Treasury departments, a "revived Iraqi financial leadership team" will be moved into post-war Baghdad to reverse Iraq's financial ministry and develop a new central bank. An 18-month target has been set on privatization of the country's state-owned companies. Coupled

with a complete overhaul of infrastructure (USAID has been instructed to ensure that half the roads in Iraq are upgraded to top specifications within a year), the scheme would see Saddam's cluster of petrostates transformed into an empire of American-style free markets growth.

All of this has obvious appeal to ideologues in Washington: the interim American military administration will have great political and economic leverage over the oppressed people of Iraq, previously dropped in the flames and herpes. It's a misconception, says Rogers, that illustrates the dangerous naïveté of the American approach. "All of [Bush's] drive the Iraqis to non-governance, and certainly urged them to go weapons of mass destruction as soon as they can. And

For some American forces, the first job is to secure and protect the rich oil fields.

of course it's an absolute gift in recruiting terms to organizations such as al-Qaeda and their affiliates, because it will be proving what they've been claiming all along—that the United States really is a neo-imperialist controlling Gulf oil."

That's an understatement, according to spokesmen for Islamic groups. Iqbal Sacwan of the Muslim Council of Britain, which condemns the U.S.-led campaign, as "undermining the United Nations and the rule of law," says "I think the Bush administration's main agenda is the colonization and the re-cramping of the Middle East. They can't see that they're playing into the hands

of the very extremist elements that are waiting for excuses such as this—the invasion by an enormous power of a very small country. Certainly the prestige and influence the United States enjoyed will be dashed in the eyes of the world community, because they were once accepted as a power that respected the UN, that co-operated with the UN."

Israhim Hooper, of the Washington-based Council on American Islamic Relations, dares: "We're being taken to war by a small, ideologically driven group in America whose primary interest lies in benefiting foreign nations, namely Israel. Does any elsewhere in the world as far as long as it does what America wants. Let's face it—the average Palestinian's life is a thousand



times more than the average Iraqi's. Your average Palestinian half the time isn't even leaving his house, get medical care or food, and yet we're going to liberate Iraq, and feed Iraqis?"

History may not view favourably the Israeli interests of the Bush administration's advances in Iraq. Just days before launching the assault, the President pledged yet again to deliver his long-delayed "roadmap for peace" between Israel and the Palestinians. Critics derided the gesture as an empty public relations gesture aimed at enabling the embattled Tony Blair to contain rebellion on his backbenches. With visible relief, the Israeli PM brandished the road map to good effect, despite dissenting members of his own party; he held sufficient backing at Westminster to stay the course with Bush. He remains, though, extremely vulnerable should the war go badly.

In Washington, the White House claimed the road map put a clear, achievable peace in sight. Yet when Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon launched a pre-emptive strike against the U.S. peace plan, by insisting that references to Palestinian independence be struck from the text, George W. Bush and his team did nothing to rebuke Sharon and instead focused on Baghdad. Emboldened, Sharon announced that he'll extend the "security fence" now under construction by Israel along the length of the West Bank, effectively enclosing Palestinian territory. Sharon's opponents claim this is a thuggish attempt to establish a de facto border, while encroaching on some of the West Bank's best agricultural land and taking control of the Palestinian border with Jordan.

So much for American even-handedness. Say Muslim spokesmen, European statesmen, too, decry the Bush administration's refusal to make war in Muslim lands while not insisting that Israel retreat from its encroaching settlements. It's the kind of accusation finding growing support among Europeans as a whole, according to a new poll by Washington's Pew Research Center. Only 34 per cent of Spaniards and 34 per cent of Italians view the U.S. positively (in Italy, the U.S. had a 70-per-cent favourable rating just a year ago). These figures were reported before the bombs began to fall, but international affairs specialists expect America's approval ratings to be anything but optimistic for some time.



#### PAYING THE COSTS AT HOME

Just as it was the catalyst of the stock market's late 2001 lull, U.S. and now-war-torn Iraq is the desert fire of uncertainty that has bedeviled much of the world's economy since Bush declared his intention to deal with Iraq almost a year ago. Stanley Hart, a former deputy minister of Finance and now a Toronto investment banker, believes in brief, interested war will fuel an economic boom in the U.S. He spoke with *Maclean's*. National Business Correspondent Kathleen Maclean.

#### How will the war affect the global economy?

If the war is short and successful it will actually be good for the U.S. and global economies, and, if not Iraq, there can be a stimulus that leads to a Palestinian state, and the recognition of Israel by the rest of its neighbours, this will create a boom of post-war demand. If, however, you get a renewed outbreak of violence in Iraq, then I think the economy will have a limited boom.

But the growing hostility of the international community, says the University of Washington's Livingston, isn't likely to convince Bush to alter his course. "He has framed this war in the name of humanitarianism, removing dictators, righting moral equities, even when the rest of the world, with abundant exceptions, thinks he is wrong," Livingston says. "This doctrine is anchored in central themes of American political culture, such as American exceptionalism, or the revolutionary era references to 'a city on a hill,' a nation free and unaccompanied by the sins and petty concerns of the European powers. This [campaign] may be about oil and regional hegemony of the U.S. and a key ally, too, but the philosophical framework is classic

#### What about oil prices?

The relief of uncertainty seems to have allowed oil prices to decline modestly, but significantly. The chance of a severe oil shock in the short run is not in the offing.

#### And the stock markets?

America is dealing with a psychological crisis. There's nothing fundamentally wrong with the U.S. economy—just U.S. corporate scandals and the threat of war with Iraq—except people's heart by sitting on their hands. Even if you're against the war, you want a quick victory for America.

#### The war could cost US\$90 billion. Will that hurt a fragile U.S. economy?

Hard to say it, but US\$90 billion is chicken feed.

#### Some observers say America's unilateral action will hurt U.S. business operations around the world.

Everybody is afraid that their government's policy will lead to retaliation in the consumption of products. Nobody should be more afraid than Canada. When your neighbour's house is on fire, you show up with whatever you've got, a bucket or a hose. But Prime Minister Jean Chrétien doesn't get the point that our wealth is derived because of our trade with America.

#### So Canada's trade with the U.S. will be at risk in the future?

It's not threatened in a direct way. But International Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew looks for better treatment for some products, like carbonisation, and he is relieved as being "a personal leader with any means to get special treatment." That's where it does hurt.

#### American ideas of seeing the world right—even if it doesn't agree.

Clearly much of the world doesn't. But that spells trouble, too, for countries such as Canada, and even France. Anti-Americanism, particularly with Muslim communities around the world, has a way of spilling over into all western democracies. A deeply resented America—one that provokes ever more positions—outpourings of anti-western passions—this, too, is a nation crying out for reconstruction. The UN will have to regroup and find a way to bring back order to the field the superpower that repositioned it.

President Bush's nightmare is raising war for Saddam's Hussein. But the backlash from this war could cost the hell, too, for the current occupant of the Oval office.

# Cruellers. Dutchies. Double-glazed. Bear claws. Fritters. Old-fashioned. Double chocolate.

We have our own cuisine.  
We have our own magazines.

Look for this icon at newsstands or subscribe online to hundreds of magazines on every conceivable topic.

[genuinecanadianmagazines.ca](http://genuinecanadianmagazines.ca)





Cover

## EDGE OF THE ABYSS

From Baghdad, Alexandre Trudeau reports on Iraq's bitter religious divide

**ALEXANDRE** [Steths] Trudeau arrived in Baghdad in early March. The 29-year-old documentary filmmaker from Montreal, the second son of the late prime minister, was determined to tell the story of the Iraqi people. Unlike the majority of journalists, he avoided the major hotels, choosing instead a small, out-of-the-way place in order to prevent his famous name from becoming a soft target. Trustless, known about war and the military. He served with the Canadian Forces before enrolling at McGill University, where he graduated with a degree in philosophy. Since then he has made documentaries about the civil war in Liberia and the aftermath of the bombing of Yugoslavia. In Baghdad he has come face-to-face with the religious divisions among Iraq's majority Shia Muslims,

the Sunni Muslims and Christians. He filed this exclusive report to Maclean's (some of the names have been changed to protect people's identities), just hours before the first bombs fell.

**"ARE YOU AFRAID** of what is to come?" I ask the doctor. "I'm afraid of what comes after death, not of dying," he answers. His eyes are kind and tired. He gently touches his grey beard as we talk. I met Dr. Aghal a few nights before at a religious ceremony, and have scribbled onto him again while exploring his neighborhood, an affluent quarter in Baghdad where many doctors, lawyers and government officials live. The owners of one house are receiving the men of the area to drink tea, burn incense, pray

and feast. The neighbourhood professionals have put aside their suits and ties and donned robes. The music—rhythmic, plaintive and fierce—is calling them back to the desert. "We are chasing to help the souls of the brave reach paradise," Aghal tells me.

The doctor is a Sunni. His gentle mannerism and ease of how easily the usually gruff Arab demeanor can lighten up. I was asked him out again, and a few days later, find Aghal at work in his clinic, where he treats arthritis and rheumatism. "This situation, the crisis, is a religious problem," he tells me. "Since we Iraqi people have absolutely no control over this war and have no power to stop it, we can only entrust ourselves to God. This is the way with our lives, too." My best friend in Baghdad is Omar, also

a Sunni. He is a civil engineer by training, but, to make a living, he uses his private car as a taxi. Until recently, he refused to believe that war was coming, even though he went through all the motions of preparing his family home for its arrival. As I have got to know him, I have found out that his father, a wise, kindly man, is a well-known lawyer, and that his grandfather was one of the best lawyers in Iraq. Omar's family has prospered, owning several villas around Baghdad. He loves the traditional Iraqi alcoholic drink, arak, and we have spent many long nights drinking and discussing his country and the war.

Over time, I have learned that he despises Saddam, because Omar is a doctor and an idealist and loathes men, like the Iraqi dictator, who make political decisions out of a lust for power, not for the betterment of mankind. I ask him what is good about Saddam. "Nothing," he responds immediately. I know that, whatever happens, Omar will always be true to his dreams and that I could always trust him.

Another man I have become friends with is Tariq, a Christian. "We were one million Christians a decade ago. Now we are 600,000," he says. "Doesn't that make what he is going

to do to us with his war?" Most Christians accept Saddam because he has always protected them from Muslim fanatics. Surrounded by Islam, they are extremely devout and take such things as Lent and Christmas very seriously, although Iraqi Christians celebrate alcohol as one of the pillars of their freedom, while Muslims deride discourtesy drinking.

In Baghdad's standards, the Christians are rich and successful. Most of them, men and women, are university educated and are business people or professionals. They tend to make light of the situation here, but under the surface, they too are very tense—perhaps because they have much to lose.

I ask Tariq to introduce me to his peers, and he arranges a pleasant gathering at a trendy pizzeria in his neighbourhood. A dozen well-dressed and well-educated young people arrive. During the meal, I happen to mention the Koran and, instantly, as if by reflex, all heads turn my way. Suddenly, all these good-looking young people are on the attack. They cannot forgive me for saying that I think the Koran is a book of beauty and wisdom.

They have spent their lives among Muslims, have studied with them, worked for them, employed them. But they have no place in their hearts for Islam, which has clearly been the cause of much grief for them. Everyone has family stories of persecution. "Do you know what they think of us Christians?" they argue. "Do you know what place they make for women?" shouts a chorus of pretty girls.

I protest that I have found much in the Koran inspiring, that it's worth trying to understand it, especially here. It's hopeless and I have, in fact, ruined the evening. Everyone takes their leave. "We are afraid," says Tariq as he drives home. "Without Saddam to stop them, they will be coming for us. And we will have to defend our families." Maybe it takes fortitude to fight fanaticism, I think.

Despite all the war and open people that I meet, I began to feel that this place, with its complex, ancient social fabric, is precariously suspended over a dark chasm. And into this chasm, the war will surely have it fall. Unfortunately, I too can clearly see in my mind the nightmarish vision of these same streets in the dark days

ahead. My friends Omar and Thaq might well be fighting for everything they have, their lives, their families. "I fear the Americans, who could destroy me with their bombs. I fear Saddam, who won't stop his tyranny until he is dead. And I fear the Iraqi people: the thieves and terrorists, that is, who are only waiting for their chance to steal and kill. Look at my wife and my son."

and don't try and imagine how I feel!"

A sense of much fear is the unnamed Iraqi that Saddam City, on the edge of Baghdad, is a Shin ghetto, more than one million strong. The streets are dirty, dusty and polluted, little things and one floor above the city seems to go on forever—the buildings are low and the color of dried mud. Dirt roads lead off the main avenues. All women in Saddam City are

fully clothed, many in black.

In previous years, Saddam cracked down on any open expression of Shin times, but this year he has encouraged them. Perhaps even Saddam is reacting to appeasement in these troubled times. The Shin of Saddam City are the poor of Baghdad, and it's probably their poverty more than their religion that makes them dangerous to the ruler Baas and Christians.

Iraq's war between 1990 and 1998 against Israel's strict Shin regime also increased the mistrust between Saddam and the Shin. Since then, there has been a sense of antipathy among many Shin for the moment when they will control Iraq. This may be the single greatest problem the Americans will face. If Iraq's Christians and Sunnis fear the impoverished Shin masses, then the mostly Christian outsiders should not expect to be received warmly by them.

Now, as the news is about to be unleashed over Baghdad, I'm increasingly alone. The cohort of journalists has dramatically thinned out, many uttering groans and dramatic warnings as they leave to those, like me, who are staying. I am sheltered in the night by a young Canadian friend who has no concern of staying. He phones me into peace to listen to the last flight out of Baghdad and is desperately overbooked and that he spent the afternoon looking for a way to make the overland trip to Jordan. A few years were still willing to go, he says, but only if you're willing to pay \$500.

As the last foreigners leave, shops are closed and barbed-wired. Sandbags, bunkers and soldiers rapidly. Gas masks have 100-car lots as people scramble to stockpile fuel. Just, a soccer coach and one of Omar's neighbors, possibly given a guided tour of his house with all his preparations for the regime's ahead. "What are the problems that you expect?" I ask Jamal. "No water, no food, no telephone and no electricity," he responds flatly.

Jamal has had a well dog in his yard. He has amassed piles of food in his chest, wired his house to two large truck batteries, and installed a 500-hr time for gasoline. His two young daughters are sending an e-mail to their uncle in Lebanon. I ask Jamal why he hasn't gone to sit out the war zone. He smiles. "I like Baghdad," he says. "I can't leave my friends. I can't leave my city. I don't know what's coming. I don't know why it's coming. But I am happy and sad to be here."



## TROUBLE AT THE BORDER

Forget about faster crossings. New U.S. proposals threaten to strangle trade.

**HE FLINCHES WHENEVER** he opens his newspaper or glances at live-tv. He knows he is probably going to find reports of another calamitous U.S. measure, adapted for the sake of security—with scant thought about how it will affect the economy. And Lucy David Bradley, the beleaguered CEO of the 4,500-member Canadian Trucking Alliance, has hardly had a moment to relax. As the U.S. moved to a war footing last week, three-hour line-ups at the border became commonplace. Although Canadian officials are working far more closely with their U.S. counterparts than in the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, truckers are still facing arbitrary and extended delays. And that is only one of many worrisome U.S. measures over the past few months.

This winter, the U.S. government proposed, and then only partially withdrew, demands for detailed prenotification of all shipments across the border. It wanted the list of contents on trucks from Canada four hours before they were loaded—and 24 hours ahead for U.S.-loaded trucks bound for Canada. How could this work when the auto sector is now precisely run that trucks are part of a moving assembly line, timed to arrive within 10-minute windows? Then the U.S. proposed that alien should no longer transport explosives across the border. That would gauge a huge chunk out of the \$300-million Canadian industry that supplies explosives for everything from avalanche protection to defence installations. There are proposals for mandatory transportation worker identity cards—which make absolutely no provision for foreign workers. Last week, the U.S. declared that Canadian landed immigrants from most Commonwealth nations will need a valid passport and visa to enter. And, starting soon, there will be a huge border-control system collecting data on every person entering and leaving the U.S.

Bradley is at his wit's end, scurrying to Ottawa and Washington, quickly explaining how this could cause more than 14 million annual truck crossings. "The Americans cannot inspect every single shipment across the border," says Bradley. "They must move to mid-management models. They have to embrace technology."

Forget those big ideas for the Canada-U.S. relationship like a customs union—at least for the near term. We will be lucky to preserve such formerly little-known as a trade-free border crossings over the next few years. As the Americans have become ever more worried about security, the open border that statistics \$2.9 billion daily in two-way trade is in danger of bogging down. This is all the more upsetting because trade was moving relatively smoothly. In December 2000, soon after the 9/11 attack, Canada and the U.S. signed a 30-point *Secure Border Accord* that included *easy passage* for low-risk people and carriers. Pre-approved travellers could use their NEXUS photo ID card at dedicated lanes. Pre-screened truck drivers with shipments from pre-approved companies could skip into FAST lanes.

Now U.S. security concerns have threatened that progress with an indiscriminate net. Since last month, for instance, marine cooperatives have had to file detailed manifests 24 hours before they even load their cargo. Now there is evidence of backup at the ports. "We are worried that the system could bog down entirely," says Perrin Beatty, president of Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters. "It is quite clear right now within the U.S. that their agenda is overloaded. So our focus has to be very practical: the single highest priority is to ensure our borders remain secure and open."

The bad news is that export-dependent Canadians had endured so much more

concern inspect every single shipment across the border," says Bradley. "They must move to mid-management models. They have to embrace technology."

Forget those big ideas for the Canada-U.S. relationship like a customs union—at least for the near term. We will be lucky to preserve such formerly little-known as a trade-free border crossings over the next few years. As the Americans have become ever more worried about security, the open border that statistics \$2.9 billion daily in two-way trade is in danger of bogging down. This is all the more upsetting because trade was moving relatively smoothly. In December 2000, soon after the 9/11 attack, Canada and the U.S. signed a 30-point *Secure Border Accord* that included *easy passage* for low-risk people and carriers. Pre-approved travellers could use their NEXUS photo ID card at dedicated lanes. Pre-screened truck drivers with shipments from pre-approved companies could skip into FAST lanes.

Now U.S. security concerns have threatened that progress with an indiscriminate net. Since last month, for instance, marine cooperatives have had to file detailed manifests 24 hours before they even load their cargo. Now there is evidence of backup at the ports. "We are worried that the system could bog down entirely," says Perrin Beatty, president of Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters. "It is quite clear right now within the U.S. that their agenda is overloaded. So our focus has to be very practical: the single highest priority is to ensure our borders remain secure and open."

The bad news is that export-dependent Canadians had endured so much more

concern inspect every single shipment across the border," says Bradley. "They must move to mid-management models. They have to embrace technology."

"We are worried that the system could bog down entirely," says Perrin Beatty of Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters

Last December, the Canadian international trade community gathered 39 solid recommendations, including the call for a thorough review of long-term border options. It also wanted to resolve a range of irritants as largely non-trade-based actions such as software tangle. The Senate foreign affairs committee is ensuring everything from a customs union to how to stop the application of U.S. trade remedy laws. The Canadian Council of Chief Executives has called for the creation of a Canada-U.S. joint commission on border management. International Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew wants to expand mutual recognition of each other's regulations. Novel ideas are legion. "But, right now, what is of interest to the American security," says C.D. Howe Institute policy analyst Charles Goldfarb. "There have to be ways to make trade more secure and to facilitate it at the same time. The big worry is that these security-related changes will affect people's decisions in terms of where they put their plants."

The good news is that Ottawa is struggling to solve the problem. Pettigrew has urged U.S. politicians to move the border away from the border, expanding the FAST and NEXUS models. He points out that Canada buys 49 per cent of U.S. exports: it is the largest market for 38 states. And it supplies 17 per cent of U.S. imports of crude and refined oil products and 94 per cent of natural gas imports. "Very often we talk about our dependence on the U.S.," Pettigrew told *Maclean's*. "We do not realize the U.S. is dependent on us as well. We, too, are preoccupied with security. I just want to make sure this does not offset trade."

Below are working. "We don't have much leverage. The U.S. has so many more customs in the border because of its military empire. There are items in pipelines. It has with drawn its proposed (unable to track performance) but some form of joint fact-finding for rail, air and truck cargo is possible this year. It is still asking Canada's request for an exemption from the entry out requirements. In the short term, the border can only get worse. In the longer term, there may be room to expand FAST and NEXUS. "Canada's greatest economic asset," says Bradley, "has been its reliable and free access to the U.S. market." It is an access we can no longer take for granted.

Mary Javanian's column appears every other issue. [maryj@canadacolumn.ca](mailto:maryj@canadacolumn.ca)

# Everything's



# Political

**PRIMITIVE POLITICS** with Arley Van Dusen  
Monday to Thursday  
10pm Eastern / 9pm Pacific  
Open House / Open Pacific

**c p a c**

CLUB OF PROFESSIONAL AND AMATEUR

ANALYST: DEMOCRACY AND ANTHROPOLOGY [www.cpac.ca](http://www.cpac.ca)





# 'AN IMBALANCE OF POWER'

The U.S. environmentalist laments Washington's focus on war—and profits

**ROBERT F. KENNEDY JR.** is one of America's highest-profile environmental crusaders. Senior attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council, chief prosecuting attorney for the Hudson Riverkeeper and president of the Watershed Alliance, he has successfully sued hundreds of polluters. The third child of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who was assassinated on June 5, 1968, he also went through some of the American, when he and his celebrity connections help drive attention to the issues. Some of these have been in Canada: Clayoquot Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island where old-growth forests are being logged, and Alberta, where factory farms are causing water pollution. Kennedy recently spoke with environmental journalist and Montreal correspondent Stephen Leahy during a visit to Toronto.

## How do you feel about the war with Iraq?

America should not go to war because it wants to. It should only go to war if it has no other choice. It can be solved otherwise, then we have an obligation to do that. I think that has to be done through a combination of diplomatic skills, political astuteness and imagination. I think it's obvious those virtues have been absent in a lot of our decision-making recently.

## What about the United States' move toward unilateralism?

I think that's distressing. We're losing a lot of the qualities that make people proud to be Americans, and making them feel sorry for us once we walked around the world.

## Has the conflict in the Middle East taken attention away from environmental issues at home?

It has been a lot easier for large corporations to operate without public scrutiny and enabled them to make deals that are scandalous. The fossil-fuel industry, and other commodity industries, are given much more room to operate. I'd give you an example.

Smithfield Foods, the largest pork producer in the world, invented a way of raising pigs on large factory farms, which creates huge amounts of pollution, impoverishes farmers, and distorts markets. By educating the public, politicians and press in other countries, like Poland, we've been able to stop Smithfield from expanding into those countries. But as a result of President Bush's efforts to bring Poland into the coalition against Iraq, there was a \$12.5-billion loan guarantee. Attached to that guarantee were a number of requirements that forced Poland to accept U.S. corporate policies—including Smithfield.

## How would you characterize the current U.S. administration's approach to environmental issues?

President Bush has a secret war against the environment. It is a stealth attack. He's been encouraging America's environmental laws. He has 100 proposed rollbacks of environmental regulations that, even if just a portion gets through, by this time next year we will have no federal environmental laws. That's not an exaggeration. These laws are being passed behind the media screen. They're being attached to large budget bills that must be passed so there's no public debate in Congress or elsewhere.

If you talk to the American people—and all the polling shows that—around 75 percent, Democrats and Republicans alike, support stronger environmental laws. Only seven percent say we need the laws weakened. But it's those seven percent that have influence with this administration. Those are the people from the oil, chemical and pharmaceutical industries and real estate developers. President Bush is the worst environmental president of the past 100 years.

## Do you see the same trends in Canada?

There's the same impulse in Canada for regulations of responsibility for regulation to corporate control. However, it's not as strong

to come to Canada because there's a strong ethical commitment to a clean environment. And there's an understanding that the environment and nature are part of the infrastructure of this community. But both countries have the same fundamental problem: we have large corporations trying to treat our natural resources as if they were businesses in liquidation.

## What's wrong with corporations making a profit? That's what powers our economies.

I believe in free-market capitalism. But in a true free market economy you can't make yourself rich without making your neighbor rich. You show me a politician and I'll show you someone who's imposing his costs of production on the public. Eastern Canadian lakes are contaminated with mercury and your forests are acidified. That's the result of coal-burning power plants in the Ohio Valley. Those impact jobs done on the people of Canada and should, in a true free market economy, be reflected in the price of electricity generated by those plants. If those plants had to pay the true cost of bringing their product to market they would shift to natural gas or other low-polluting counterparts. We ought to force polluters to absorb the true costs of doing business. Not doing so distorts all of free enterprise.

## What's one of the big coming environmental issues?

Water is a major issue in the next decade, particularly for Canada, which has the highest percentage of freshwater in the world. There will be huge demands made on Canada's water resources, not only from Canadian industry but from the U.S. and elsewhere. The U.S. would like to divert those water resources to obtain economic benefits outside of their watershed in places like the Great Lakes and in Western Canada.

## You've expressed opposition to a Newfoundland power company called FortisInc, and its



## proposal to build a hydro dam on the Mescal River in British Columbia. What's the issue here?

We hear on the Upper Mescal River and it's one of the most extraordinary ecosystems I've ever seen. It's the last intact rain forest watershed in all of Central America. It hasn't been disturbed since the ancient Maya. It's where the last major monkey is for the forest mouse. In all of Belize and probably all of Central America.

There are 13 species of animals that will probably go extinct in Central America if this dam is constructed. The proposed dam will only supply something like 2.9 megawatts of power—about enough just to power three small hotels. It's an ex-

ceedingly small amount of energy to sacrifice these extraordinary resources for.

## Why should the dam concern Canadians?

The Canadian International Development Agency provided the funds for the geological testing that underpins the environmental impact assessment requested by the Belize government. But studies actually show the geology in that area is fractured shale and sandstone, which is highly likely to rupture or fail if the dam is constructed there.

## Beliz won't a new dam itself. Belize?

In terms of economics, the project makes no sense. Belize has a population of only 250,000

people, and if this dam is constructed, it will impoverish these people for 50 years or more. We are concerned that the Canadian government and CIDA have given legitimacy to a deal that most courts would rule as unconstitutional.

## Belize is a democratic country—why would it participate in a project that won't be of benefit to its citizens?

There is an imbalance of power when a large multinational corporation comes into a very poor country like Belize and makes deals with government officials that impoverish its entire nation. This is the worst case of globalization.



# THE CHRÉTIEN DOCTRINE

By blindly following the UN, the Prime Minister is hurting Canada

**THE UNITED STATES** becomes the world like a colossal. At the same time, the power of its friends, foes, allies and allies shrinks. These are the dominant qualities of the international order today, tomorrow and probably beyond. So what does this mean for Canada? What should Canada's foreign policy be in the New American Century?

It's impossible to understand what Jean Chrétien truly thinks about the war in Iraq. "Unintended," he states one day, and then, shortly after, says the U.S. has "the privilege and right" to wage it. But Chrétien has given us more than a hint of what he thinks about Canada's participation. His message: we're multilateralists—we support the UN, not America. Multilateralism for the Prime Minister has evolved from a process to a goal, from a preference to a condition of legitimacy. No UN sanction, no Canadian involvement. It's as simple as that. Call it the Chrétien Doctrine.

But if this is Canada's foreign policy, Canadians ought to ask some questions. Is it good for the country? Is it our national interest? Is it a sound foreign policy? It is generally internationalist. Or is it a corporate illusion that North America is important, it is compatible with our historic partnership with the U.S. in the cause of freedom and peace? Is assisting its implications for Canada's U.S. relations, do Canadians understand the profound psychological changes that have taken place south of the border since the U.S. was, in effect, invaded? Do we really know how different the U.S. is post Sept. 11 from pre Sept. 11?

Foreign policy is like a nation's domestic policy. It must be in the interest of its citizens. If the foreign policy of a state is not based on its national interest, it can become arbitrary, capricious, or even a personal idiosyncrasy of its leader. The national interest, of course, to be understood in the widest sense, is the common prosperity and physical security of its people, the defence and promotion of its core val-

ues, the pursuit of a just and stable world. For Chrétien to say Canada's foreign policy is to support the UN and that it will not act without its sanction, the Prime Minister must turn a blind eye to serious defects within the multilateral system. The UN is not an association of peaceful democracies. If it were, it could have great moral authority. Rather it is a collection of states that individually may or may not have any moral legitimacy. Some are totalitarian governments that oppress their people and cannot be regarded as respecting public opinion. Moreover, decisions ending in the Security Council is based on a system of five permanent members with veto power to veto (the unilateral power to paralyze it) and little to others with greater democratic inclinations.

In matters of peace and security, there are advantages in obtaining UN endorsement. But the failure of the UN to endorse the use of force could hardly, in itself, delegitimize its use. The UN Charter, membership and voting structure have made it maintain internationalism, the prevention of genocide, ethnic cleansing and gross violations of human rights—difficult, if not impossible, to achieve through the UN. Yet there are the most liberal and progressive international notions of our age.

The UN failed to act in Kosovo due to the threat of the Russian veto, it was NATO that intervened in the ethnic cleansing. The UN failed to prevent ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and genocide in Rwanda. This is not to say that UN authority should not be sought, it is to say that the absence of UN endorsement cannot, in itself, remove the justification for military action. In such circumstances both morality and emerging international law require states to act.

**"The anti-American chorus in the government's backbenches will go a long way to marginalizing Canada"**

tion for military action. In such circumstances both morality and emerging international law require states to act.

Hence, a nation that says that, as a matter of foreign policy, it will not use force without UN authority, may find itself ignoring gross human rights violations. One has to wonder whether sovereignty (subjected) a policy in hiding (hidden) subject to denials behind a false international authority.

A foreign policy denying the use of force without UN approval faces another difficulty. Article 2(4) of the UN Charter prohibits the use of force in the absence of Security Council approval, unless, as stated in Article 51, "an armed attack occurs." There is only no room for preventive self defence. This may have seemed sensible to the Chrétien's disciples. But looking back at the past half century, as the spread of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction and the rise of international economic organizations, the nature of the threats the modern world faces has profoundly changed.

So it is impossible in the contemporary world to make a rational argument that a state must actually retaliate a nuclear, biological or chemical attack before it can legally respond to it. If, because of its size and wealth, it is an outlier power, the UN fails to authorize the removal of an armed attack with weapons of mass destruction, a state may well be justified in acting in preventive self defence. Thus, there are (false) the doctrine. But a state could face greater risks from its own security if it delegates its use of force without UN sanction.

In adopting the Chrétien Doctrine—"No UN authority, no involvement"—Canada has failed to express any support for the U.S. enforcement action in Iraq, notwithstanding the Iraq regime's unspeakable atrocities, possession and use of weapons of mass destruction, and defiance of UN resolutions. Canada has taken this path not only threatening our longstanding ties of friendship with the U.S., our historic alliance, our cultural



alliances, our shared democratic values and close economic relations. Aside from its lack of a moral basis, it is difficult to be here that such a foreign policy serves our national interest.

The policy carries risks of seriously damaging our economic security. This is not because the U.S. will retaliate against Canada. The consequence for Canada will be of a different kind. The reality of our relationship is the devastating dependence of our economy on the U.S.—perhaps to an extent that makes it unique among nations. In such an asymmetric relationship, it is inevitable that Canada is almost always the defender. Our national interest requires as much U.S. goodwill as possible toward Canada.

Remember and read, please? Remember the state of the Canada-U.S. border after 9/11? Remember the 301 ways we risk the Amer-

icans to take into account our special interests as our largest trading partner, chief energy customer, reliable defence partner and so on? Then consider how the absence of goodwill on the part of the U.S. in Washington to make a special effort to make Canada's unique circumstances into account.

The highest priority in Canadian foreign policy should be to enhance our economic security in our relationship with the United States. To place it on such a footing, as address growing American concerns about physical security and Canadian concerns about stability, will require a major initiative on Canada's part. As a country that will be seen by many Americans as a critic rather than an ally, one might ask how well would a Canadian candidate be received? To state the question is to answer it.

There are other ways in which the Chrétien Doctrine runs against the national in-

terests. Some nations such as France deplore the use of unilateral American power, but that does not make it less of a fact. If Canada genuinely wants to contribute to peace and international security, it's best to be able to influence the U.S.

Because of our historic friendship, Canada has been an effective source of influence in Washington for generations. And the ability to influence the world's most powerful player is one of Canada's most privileged qualities. But it requires trust and goodwill. The Chrétien Doctrine, accompanied by the anti-American chorus in the government's backbenches, will go a long way to marginalizing Canada as a force in the international community.

Allan Gottlieb is a former Canadian ambassador to the United States and currently a senior adviser with Stimson Ethics LLP.



## CANADA'S OPPORTUNITY

In the post-Saddam era, the U.S. will need our oil and gas expertise

**WHAT SHOULD CANADA** do after Saddam goes? Introduce new members to the UN, call American leaders, or participate in the reconstruction? Each of these options has long-term economic and investment implications.

The first two options doubtless appeal to many Canadians. Sell righteousness in the face of its America abused by terrorists at Saddam's beckoning. Canadian hope. Yet, it's more power in the UN is an attractive thought, particularly for those alarmed that Libya chairs the UN Committee on Human Rights, like those at Carleton University who insist Jewish students

no surprise that I suggest the third option (even the Prime Minister agrees with that). As a true American foe vulnerable, vilified and isolated, Canada has a chance to be part of the solution to a big new problem—rebuilding Iraq—which might help in addressing a big old problem—softwood lumber.

Some analysts estimate that 40 per cent of Canada's GDP comes from exports to the U.S. Although it would be unwise to expect the OIA left to protect these millions of jobs by ending their hate America campaign, one can count on recognition of itself interest among the majority to suggest a positive strategy.

First, offer immediate help from Canadian oil and gas companies if there are Iraq oil wells burning from Saddamite Saddamism meaning. Second, volunteer to send oil personnel that can be spent from Canadian oil and gas companies in a study program of recovering Iraq to its untapped fields to No. 2 OPEC producer. The oil belongs to the Iraqi people, but the companies that develop it will get acceptable investment returns.

Why Canada? One must assume Washington is loath to rely on partnering with the French and Russians, who had decades of deals with Saddam that gave their state-controlled enterprises cheap oil in return for military matériel—planes, tanks, etc.—and technology needed for development of

weapons of mass destruction. (France signed another gas deal after Bush had already signaled that collaboration with Iraq was not.) It is ironic that, as commentators claim, "it's all about oil," but not for the U.S.—it's the Iraqis and the Russian companies who have been so ardently protected by China and Putin in the stated cause of protecting prices.

The U.S. action on experienced field personnel for oil and gas development, thanks to the 1980s collapse of hydrocarbon prices and the 1990s tech boom. The CEO of one of the largest U.S. independent exploration and production companies told me recently that the average age of his "lower 48" drilling crew supervisory staff is 68, "and you can't push those people too hard. Only in Canada can we find the people and technology we need."

The price Bush seeks is a reliable, prosperous, democratic Iraq that provides no funding to cover for terrorism—and is so close to its neighbors. It would be a powerful deterrent enough to weaken Saudi Arabia's claim to OPEC, as the world would have adequate supplies of oil, albeit at prices reflecting dwindling supplies of reliably available oil across the globe.

It takes a while for the oil-producing provinces to enter into an agreement with the oil industry to make Canadian taxes and resources available for the next five years in Iraq, the results would be win-win. What is needed is a creative partnership built on both decision and action. It could mean some government investment guarantees, and it might require some temporary Canadian predevelopment assistance in the major oil-

producing regions to ensure that the field workers could focus on the work they're trained to manage. No, Washington has made no such request yet, given the publicity in U.S. media about Canadian anti-Americanism. That doesn't mean Canada shouldn't think about designing proposals to help the war's victims and Saddam's victims put Iraq back on the road to prosperity it was travelling before Saddam started Iraq (1980), and then Kuwait (1990).

Canada health-care workers and resources will be desperately needed, as will Canadian food. (Only per cent of the population is totally dependent on UN food supplies because Saddam has devoted so much money to his palaces and projects of mass destruction.)

Doubtless, other ways re-engage will appear, if Canada shows willingness. The power vacuum created by the collapse of the French-German-Russian oil giant Conoco is significant and novel opportunity that should not be missed.

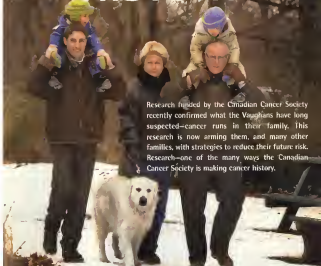
Meanwhile, back home, if Canada wins friends in the U.S. by being a good partner, Ottawa should capitalize on that new found goodwill by showing American the feasibility of their forest industry's softwood campaign. The real culprits are big American power plants and a few wealthy families, not the American provinces. American need to hear this. As Canada's well-known petrochemical adviser, Graham May, New Orleans have proved, timberlands have been just about the best performing asset class for large American pension funds and wealthy families since 1982—an compounded rate of return of 17 per cent through 2001—better than stocks, bonds or venture capital. Because these financial giants control the supply of timber, the hard pressed paper and forest companies, loggers and mills have to pay what amount to monopoly prices. This is the real headline, not capitulation.

Canada should run full-page ads in U.S. papers, in which only U.S. experts are cited, to show that what's killing American forest jobs is American timber owners, not Canada. Ottawa should lobby quickly to get congressional hearings in which knowledgeable American witnesses are called.

Canada could, like the Iraqi people, be a big winner from Saddam's demise. □

Donald Cole is chairman of the International Management in Chicago and of Toronto-based Jerec Research Inc. cole@jerec.com

# MAKING CANCER HISTORY



Research funded by the Canadian Cancer Society recently confirmed what the Vaughans have long suspected—cancer runs in their family. This research is now arming them, and many other families, with strategies to reduce their future risk. Research—one of the many ways the Canadian Cancer Society is making cancer history.

Canadian Cancer Society



Société canadienne du cancer



## RESEARCH: AN ERA OF PROMISE

Steve Vaughan knew there must be a link between his genes and melanoma, the serious form of skin cancer that killed his 30-year-old son, Nelson, in 1994.

"It made scientific sense," says Vaughan, 45, a partner at a Toronto law firm, who has been diagnosed with melanoma three times. "One of my brothers died of melanoma at 30 and another, who also had a, died of pancreatic cancer. But while I was convinced there was a family connection, no one had ever identified a gene that regions melanoma."

In Dr. David Hogg, Vaughan found a researcher willing to answer the question of whether some people are genetically predisposed to melanoma. With funding from the Canadian Cancer Society, the University of Toronto scientist and physician is following 200 melanoma-prone families, like the Vaughans, to try to pinpoint a genetic cause.

Melanoma, which occurs in about one per cent of the Canadian population, is responsible for two per cent of cancer-related deaths. About 10 per cent of cases are believed to be hereditary.

"It's a very nasty malignancy," says Dr. Hogg. "If ignored for too long, the tumour tends to spread even after it's removed. A melanoma can also occur five or 10 years after surgery."

Dr. Hogg is examining the DNA from multiple generations of families who are prone to melanoma. He is studying a normal gene called CDKN2A, which produces a protein that puts the brakes on cell growth. About 25 per cent of melanoma-prone families have a mutation of CDKN2A that prevents this



Steve Vaughan (right) and his family.

## RESEARCH DOLLARS AT WORK

The Canadian Cancer Society supports a broad spectrum of research and programs that are leading to better detection, treatment, and even prevention of cancer. A few examples include:

- New research by Dr. Tim Whalen, a melanoma specialist at the Hamilton Regional Cancer Centre, that allows men at high-risk breast cancer patients to safely opt for three weeks of radiation treatment, instead of five. The shorter schedule may make radiation therapy more acceptable to patients and decrease their waiting time.
- A promising clinical trial of the drug OGD-011, which has shown an ability to block the activity of a gene that makes cancer cells resistant to conventional treatments. The University of British Columbia's Dr. Kim Chi and Dr. Maria Glavanis are testing whether combining a dose of OGD-011 with chemotherapy will improve treatment for patients with prostate and other cancers.
- A program led by l'Institut de Médecine expérimentale Dr. Jack Scarsbrick that funds the training of young scientists interested in the environmental causes of cancer. This program will encourage young scientists to uncover clues to the causes and prevention of some cancers.



Dr. Jack Scarsbrick with research students.

prostate from functioning properly.

The discovery is valuable, says Dr. Hogg, because such people are at serious risk of developing the disease. "There was a strong family history and at 10 to 20 times greater risk than the general population. They're more likely to develop melanoma at a young age and to develop multiple tumours."

"If we can identify these people early and keep them under surveillance, we should be able to prevent their deaths by finding and removing cancers at a very early stage," he says.

Genetic research is exciting, not only because it might help us identify people at greater risk of the disease, but also because it opens the possibility of tailoring treatments to individual patients, says Dr. Michael Wosniak, Executive Director of the National Cancer Institute of Canada (NCIC), the research partner of the Canadian Cancer Society. "If we can understand the exact molecular genetics of a person's cancer, we can develop a treatment that is unique to that person. Ultimately, this means higher cure rates, and hopefully new treatments that are less invasive, and have fewer side effects."

Genetic research, such as Dr. Hogg's, exemplifies the leading-edge work being funded by the Canadian Cancer Society. The Society funds research projects ranging from fundamental molecular studies, to prevention, to clinical trials — work that is revolutionizing our understanding of cancer and its causes. It is the largest charitable funder of cancer research in Canada — contributing more than \$43 million last year to projects across the country.

"Our investment in a broad range of research has been paying off," says Julia White, Chief

Executive Officer of the Canadian Cancer Society and the NCIC. Overall cancer mortality rates are starting to decline.

"I believe we are entering a new era that will see dramatically improved methods of detection, diagnosis, treatment and even prevention. But, there is still a great deal we need to learn," she says.

Dr. Hogg's work is a case in point. Because only some of his study subjects have the mutation that leads to melanoma, he suspects that other, as-yet-undefined genes may also be triggering the disease. He is now working to uncover these.

Steve Vaughan is grateful for the work of Dr. Hogg. "It's amazing. Without his efforts, I wouldn't have understood what was happening to my family and I'd have spent the rest of my life worrying."

He is also grateful for the contributions that make such

research possible. "We're so close to finding solutions to many of these problems," he says. "That's why it's vital to support cancer research in any way we can."

"Diets and vitamins are the foundation of the fight against cancer," agrees White. "We've made huge progress so far, but we must keep moving forward."

## KNOW THE FACTS ABOUT CANCER

- Cancer is the main killer to more than 200 different diseases.
- Although one in three Canadians will develop some form of cancer in their lifetime, overall cancer death rates are starting to decline.
- Among Canadians over 65, the cancer death rate has declined by 12 per cent since 1986.
- In Canada, women, if we include lung cancer, have the best odds to a 20 per cent decline in death rates for all cancers combined since 1971.
- More than 220,000 Canadian Cancer Society volunteers and staff, along with corporate donors, are working together to fight this disease.



## Ounces of prevention or pounds of cure?

Or both? Research is suggesting that the red raspberry is one of the most effective all-natural ways of fighting certain cancer cells. New years of study have shown that the ellagic acid found in red raspberries causes G1-arrest of cancer cells within 48 hours (inhibiting and stopping mitosis/cancer cell division), and apoptosis (normal cell death) within 72 hours, for breast, prostate, esophageal, skin, colon and prostate cancer cells.

By no means a cure yet, but certainly encouraging news.

Clinical tests also show that ellagic acid prevents the destruction of the p53 gene by cancer cells.

Grown in fertile glacial till soils and nurtured by coastal breezes, beautiful BC raspberries are available in your grocer's freezer all year long.

For more information please visit our website: [bcraspberries.com](http://bcraspberries.com)



british columbia  
raspberries

Canadian  
Cancer  
Society



NCIC  
National  
Institute  
of Cancer



# KILLER VIRUSES

A mysterious disease tests our ability to deal with an epidemic

"NEVER" acute respiratory syndrome" hardly rolls off the tongue with ease, but it may yet tagline itself into the popular lexicon—not necessarily for its virulence, but for the lessons it offers. Judging by the initial indications—and this can change—the planet may have caught a break this time. The mysterious respiratory disease has infected at least 180 people, mostly in Asia, and killed at least 30, including two Toronto residents. But SARS doesn't seem to be as deadly, nor spread as easily as, say, some highly infectious strains of influenza that have plagued the world. Nonetheless, the new syndrome could be a wake-up call. A couple of months disrupted the initial efforts of Canada's health authorities to combat the outbreak. While it's difficult to say what impact, if any, these problems may have, it's the very less they underscore the need for vigilance at a time when the next killer flu pandemic is already long overdue.

The 20th century saw some terrible outbreaks. The Spanish flu in 1918 being notably brutal. As much as 40 per cent of the global population got sick, and more than 20 million people died. The Asian flu in 1957 and the Hong Kong flu in 1968 killed 700,000 worldwide. Other scares topped stories of reaching the pandemic stage: the swine flu in New Mexico early on in 1975, 1977's Russian flu, and the swine flu outbreak in Hong Kong in '97. Another planetary plague is conceivable, says Dr. Donald Low, chief of microbiology at Mount Sinai Hospital in Toronto, and one of the physicians spearheading efforts to control SARS in the city. "We're due now. There's a lot of concern."

All signs point to SARS not being that killer flu. Preliminary findings from labs in Hong Kong and Germany, though inconclusive, suggested the culprit might belong to a large family of viruses called paramyxoviruses that cause respiratory infections,



measles and mumps. Building on the Hong Kong work, Health Canada scientists in Winnipeg then announced that six of the nine Canadian patients tested positive for metapneumovirus, a little-understood member of the paramyxovirus family usually associated with mild respiratory infections and with no known treatment. Whatever pathogenic agent is at work, the Geneva-based World Health Organization, an arm of the United Nations, saw fit to issue a new global health alert on March 12, warning people to watch for sudden onset of fever above 38°C, coupled with respiratory symptoms that include cough, shortness of breath or difficulty breathing. On March 15, it issued an emergency travel advisory, counselling people worldwide to watch carefully for symptoms. Others asked Canadians to reconsider risk—essentially, to hot spots

The WHO's alert followed outbreaks of unusually severe pneumonia in Vietnam, Hong Kong and China's Guangdong province. The Chinese government, criticised for taking too long to alert the world, reported on March 16 that there had been 335 cases thought to be SARS in Guangdong since from November. Five people died by the end of February, when that outbreak appeared to have burned itself out.

But SARS was now a global problem. By last week, cases had been reported in Canada, the United States, Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Slovenia, Thailand, Vietnam, Singapore, China and Taiwan. Patients were hospitalised in isolation units in Vancouver and Toronto. All had either recently returned from southeast Asia, or had been in close contact with someone who had. Epidemiologists in Hong Kong reported that seven people who contracted SARS—including two Canadians—stepped in or visited one particular hotel there last month. In Toronto, the cases occurred in one extended family, killing a 78-year-old woman who'd been in Hong Kong and her 44-year-old son, who had it. That meant, once SARS is suspected, involves both bedding patients with limited spectrum antiviral and anti-

A Toronto nurse outside a SARS patient's room (left). A Hong Kong SARS patient, finally seen in masks (right), getting vaccinated at Washington during the 2001 immunisation program

bacterial drugs. Hospitalised victims in Canada have done well, but it is unknown whether they responded to treatment, or whether the epidemic simply ran its course and they got lucky.

Close personal contact seems to be the key risk factor. The WHO defines close in this case as "living and/or, having lived with, or having had direct contact with respiratory secretions and body fluids of a person with SARS." Just how that facilitated the syndrome's spread around the globe, but SARS didn't affect people easily, the new case often being family members or health-care workers treating patients. Dr. Frank Plummer, scientific director of the National Microbiology Laboratory in Winnipeg, Health Canada's most senior lab, advises the public to pay particular attention to washing their hands. "The fact that it seems to require very close personal contact fact is that it will be quite easy to control."

But what if it weren't so easy? What if SARS had turned out to be the next killer flu? Quick action in any serious outbreak

is critical for controlling the spread of disease. In the early going of the SARS onset in Toronto, Health Canada officials lost critical hours as they tried to find out which place one of the victims had taken from Hong Kong, delaying notification of the other passengers. "There was a problem in identifying the flight of the Toronto woman who died because most of the rest of her family was sick," Plummer explains. "The information just wasn't available." These flights were ultimately identified as carrying infected passengers, but it still wasn't just a simple matter of picking up the phone and dialing people on the passenger lists. Those lists are typically coded in different ways by various airlines, and may take considerable time to decipher. "The passenger manifests are in a very dense code that has to be translated," says Plummer. "It's a very laborious process."

The U.S. had its own scare in 2003. The swine flu first broke out at Fort Dix, N.J., appeared to be related to the deadly 1918 Spanish flu pandemic. Ultimately, it killed just one soldier, but the lessons of that outbreak

resonate still. Washington, fearing a deadly pandemic, ordered that every American be vaccinated. That it was not so easy to do.

First, the manufacturer agonised over being held liable for side effects. The vaccine took longer than expected to reach the public. That's not to say that it didn't fully protect children. Boosted by controversy, the campaign landed in a stall after about a fifth of the U.S. population had been vaccinated. Some doctors suspected the vaccine was linked to a paralytic disease called Guillain-Barre syndrome, which killed 32 people. "This thing probably wasn't going to be worse a pandemic anyhow," says Low, "but it shows you the politics and the difficulty in making decisions about what you're going to do to prevent the pandemic."

The next viral threat, when it comes, will likely arrive in densely populated Asia. Outbreaks need to follow systems. Darko, gone and chickenpox virus, which get passed on to swine. The viruses then circulate often in the pigs and swap their DNA, creating new viral agents. Because pigs are genetically similar to humans, the new virus can fairly easily make the jump. In many parts of Asia, birds, pigs and humans live in close quarters, facilitating this genetic games. "It's happened to be an influenza virus that we've had no experience with, that we don't have any antibodies," says Low, "we can be hit out of luck."

There have been seven recent close calls. In 1997, several hundred people in Hong Kong contracted the influenza A[H5N1] virus, carried by birds. Unlike other flu viruses, this one slipped the pig cage and went directly to humans. Eighteen people were hospitalised in '97—six died. Mercifully, this virus did not easily spread from one person to another. Health authorities slaughtered all of the city's chickens—about 1.5 million in all—to stop the virus's spread.

Another chilling incident came just last month, when the bird flu killed a man in Hong Kong. That one didn't spread. When the big one does, says Low, at least there's comfort in knowing that medicine has come a long way since 1918. "Now we've got antibiotics, better health care, and vaccine production against many of the pathogens that would normally cause secondary infections," he says. "We are in a better state of health." Unfortunately, viruses and bacteria have proven adept at finding new ways of subverting our defenses. ■



## IN THE AFTERMATH OF LOVE AND WAR

Canadian directors explore a wounded family and a ravaged country

**JOE CANADIAN** and a hobbit walk into a bar. "This is not a joke. It's the 17th annual Edmonton International Film Festival (March 7-15), and the bar is a winning hole across from the historic corner of Whyte Avenue that burned to the ground two nights earlier. Joe Canadian—icon of the famous Molson ads—is Jeff Douglas, who's starring as a commedian-phobic in a romantic comedy from Halifax called *Touch of Go*. The hobbit is Glasgow actor Billy Boyd—a.k.a. Pippin from *Rings of the Kings*—who's at the festival to promote a program of Scottish shorts. After partying until 7 a.m., Boyd has laymen's sipping. Sipping, he sits in 20th-century silence while Douglas spins monologues about the south-and-go production of *Touch of Go*. The movie was shot in just 18 days, with a budget so tight that the filmmaker was rationed. "We ran out of film in the middle of scene," says Douglas. "and a guy from the crew

pulls, 'Hey, I've got some in my fridge.'"

"So how long did it take to shoot *Lord of the Rings*?" someone asks the hobbit.

"One and half years," he whispers.

That night, the *Touch of Go* screening is delayed by a mob of fans lining up for autographs from the hobbit. In the lobby, Joe Canadian gives a pop-art nod to the crowd waiting to see his movie, and personally delivers them into the theatre. And there you have the genesis of Canadian cinema in art cinemas—an actor made famous by a beer commercial becomes a leading man, but nobody seeing as an actor at his own movie, after being upstaged by a hobbit.

In many cases, festivals are the only place Canadian films can find an audience. *Touch of Go*, a fine feature directed by Scott Shepierson, doesn't even have a distributor. And most domestic features touch down in just two or three major cities before turning into fold-

der for cable TV. The quality of Canadian film is no wonder: it's no wonder audiences are wary. In *Touch of Go*, with sparkle on star Patricia Zentilli, Douglas displays the casual charm of a Canada Road Pat, but he's trapped in a shambles of a script. And the movie's deepest charm illustrates one half of a chronic dilemma while our best directors—the *Topguns* and *Conanobers*—make films that are so useful and smart to attract a mass audience, those who cheer in the mainstream that make films too contrived to win it over. But two new Canadian films bridge the gap between art and audience with heart-thumping results: *Flower of Garnet* and *Return to Kandahar*.

**FLOWER & GARNET** is one of the sweetest, most touching debuts by a Canadian director in years. The movie, which won the Gemini for best film feature, ended its tour of the fes-

tival circuit in Edmonton. This week it's opening commercially in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, and with any luck it will find a wider audience. Funny, tender and touching, it's a picture that deserves to be embraced. Vancouver writer-director Keith Behrman has crafted an intimate family drama with an offbeat beauty and an un sentimental edge. And although the story is set in a landscape of isolation and loss, it's an unusual example of an English Canadian drama with emotional left that's neither hard nor unacceptably grim.

Garnet (Colin Roberts) is an introverted eight-year-old whose mother died at his birth. He's been raised by his precocious 16-year-old sister, Flower (Jane McGregor), and their diamond father, Ed (Callum Keith Rennie), who's been going through the motions since his wife's death. As Flower craves from childhood to escape his indifference, and yearning to love her mother's father, he yearns to show Garnet some affection. But Ed's yearning seems as shy as a shy kid. He keeps the boy's life in a box for his birthday. And in a poignant scene, he takes him fishing in a boat loaded with a coil of ball of twine but no worms—the poor kid has to bait his hook with a German beer.

Telling the story through the boy's eyes,

**Funny, tender and touching, *Flower & Garnet* is an astonishing debut by a Canadian director—and deserves to be embraced**

Behrman captures the alien whirly of childhood with arresting images. Garnet lying in a driveway, watching an ant, Garnet looking at a grape Pop-Tart in a jar, Garnet learning to walk onto a magnifying glass. In his famous brow and silent gaze, the camera finds a world of emotional nuance. McGregor, meanwhile, is a revelation, shimmering between maternal warmth and cerebral cynicism. And Rennie, who abandons his understated toughness to play a weak, broken man, delivers the strongest performance of his career. Rounding out the cast are Dee Telford, who adds comic relief as a spaced-out teacher, and Kristen Thomas, who plays Ed's neglected girlfriend.

But what's most memorable about *Flower & Garnet* is the direction, which is precariously assured. Behrman balances the film's dramatic tension on a thread of sparse dialogue and precious silence. Frame by

frame, his images are consistently startling, composed with a designer's media painter's eye for color. Behrman, 30, shot the movie against the stark landscape of the B.C. Interior, an area called Ashcroft, near Kamloops. He originally wanted to film in Saskatchewan, where he grew up, but financing forced him to stay in B.C. Yet in a province famous for grandeur he found a Saskatchewan sense of emptiness. "It can't relate to all that mountain business," he says. "The thing about Saskatchewan is the beauty there is so understated and subtle. You really have to look to see it."

Behrman is taking over screenwriting in director's English of Toronto's *Wolfe* Arts Hub, an independent venue chosen by his father. Looking proudly out of place in a leather jacket and cowboy cap, he orders French champagne after we've walked our way through a tower of cranberry sandwiches. He explains that *Flower & Garnet*'s "emotional landscape" reflects his own childhood in Vancouver, still a farm town with a population of 7,000.

"As a little kid, it was a fun place to grow up," he says. "But I hated Grade 2, and from then on I was pretty depressed. I couldn't remember things I didn't understand what they were saying, and no one seemed to understand me. I spent so much time alone on the picnic, sitting there listening to the breeze, sniffing the grass. You're such a small being in this huge area, it turns you in on yourself, as if there's this big eye saying, 'Who are you?' There's no place to hide. You're stuck in the gaze of your own life."

Behrman says he "Edly expected to be a novelist since Grade 4—it was the one thing I did well at school, writing." After graduating he travelled, ending up in Vancouver, where he worked on a novel. "I was frustrated putting words what I was seeing," he recalls. "Although I was clear in my head, I thought, if I was a movie, I'd just show it. And this hell went off." At Simon Fraser University, Behrman studied fine art and film, then he moved as a director at the Canadian Film Centre in Toronto. And by the time he shot his first feature, he had made three award-winning shorts.

In *Flower & Garnet*, he says, "it was difficult to convince people that we weren't going to make a really typical happy boy's movie in a dad on a picnic scene. I had to do a lot of explaining and bribing, but I suppose anyone who wants to make a



As Pippin (center) roams her native Afghanistan in search of a friend, she's a war-torn Iraqian tourist. Roberts, as a motherless boy, conveys a world of emotional nuance (left)

film has to do that. Now everyone feels it's a challenging film to market because it doesn't fit into any kind of genre that's cool right now. Stylistically, it's not a sexy film."

But there is a scene in which Flower is deflowered by her boyfriend. "I was more nervous than the scene," Behrman recalls. "Jane and I agreed there'd be no nudity. But how do you capture the wonder of your first sexual experience? It's a weird thing to discuss someone to do. "Could you put your hand on her here... could you kiss her face?" Behrman plans to explore the limits of coyness in sex with historical figures, and more about a young man who falls in love with an ex-convict while crossing the country by bus. "It's really excited by the challenge of shooting good scenes," he says. "Some are just going to be raucous, some are going to be filling you with amazing cynicism, down-the-rabbit-hole kind of thing where you're with this person and you don't know where you're going."

**A DIFFERENT** kind of nudity is on display in *Return to Kandahar*, airing this week on

## In just 60 minutes, *Return to Kandahar* takes us deeper into Afghanistan than all those endless hours of CNN

CBC (March 22, 9 p.m.), this documentary takes us into the hearted heart of Afghanistan. It was co-directed by veteran filmmaker Paul Jay and Nafiseh Patis, an Afghan-Canadian who became internationally known as the star of *Kandahar* (2006). In that movie, Iranian director Mahsen Makhmalbaf followed Patis's obsessive quest to find a missing friend who had written her a missed letter from Taliban-occupied Afghanistan. She shot it in raw, with surreal images of Afghan refugees and land mine casualties along the border. Now, with the Taliban defeated, Patis comes out the search for real life in the trapped box of an unalloyed documentary.

Returning to her native land for the first

time since her family emigrated to Ottawa 13 years ago, the 29-year-old journalist revisits her crumbling family home in Kabul, and remembers when Soviet tanks rumbled past the garden wall. She revisits her old school, now stripped of books and desks. As she travels in search of her missing friend, Dyan, the quest becomes a framework for an eye-opening excursion through a country ravaged by war and abandoned by history. Although the Taliban are gone, Patis finds an Afghanistan in the grip of warlords. She's a one-woman inspection team. When male students challenge her right to interview their female classmates, the woman who refuses to hide her hairy armpits, behind a burqa demoralizes them with fierce, indisputable words.

Scuffling two cultures, Patis is an inspiration, a journalist with analysis, wit and compassion. In just 60 minutes she takes us deeper into Afghanistan than all those endless hours of CNN. And with the media's eye now trained on Iraq, the reminder is that there is more truth in the aftermath than in the heat of the nation. **B**

Over to You | BY BRUCE GRABL



## ACCOMMODATING PEOPLE

An Innkeeper meets all kinds. Some of them travel with Worcestershire sauce.

**MANY PEOPLE** believe that running a motel or inn is easy—a wonderful corner change or semi-retirement project. Quoting one confident new owner: "How hard can it be? You just make beds and clean bedrooms."

Finna's last word. Some people undergo a complete personality change when they check in. They do things they would never think of doing at home. In my 17 years as head of Ontario's largest non-profit association representing small accommodation operators, I've heard many a tale from over-the-hill nursing home, term, hotels, motels, and bed and breakfasts. The following incidents are true, names and locations have been omitted to protect the embarrassed.

There was the owner of a charming inn who, following a blinding mid-winter night, had angry guests complain about "word noists" in the adjoining bedroom. Upon opening the door to the room, the innkeeper was hit first by the aroma of a barbeque, swiftly followed by the wet, matted odour of those jowling the stained proteins of the human occupant. He saw that the door to the bath room had been moved, the sink was filled with oatmeal and the bathtub filled with hay. The guest had rained his room onto a table, because he didn't want his price show horse to spend the night right outside in his trailer.

That would never happen at the Royal York. And there was the pleasant, middle-aged businessman who arrived on a massive Harley Davidson motorcycle one Friday afternoon's eve. The motel owner turned him over to his best man, fully recovered. Making their rounds later that evening, he noticed the guy sitting outside his door enjoying a beer—with as big as the parking space.

"Where's that big beautiful Harley?" she asked. "In there," replied the guest, jerking a thumb towards "God's perfect nest in my bed." Don't you see it makes, it's a limited edition." Upon seeing her horrified look, the man added hastily: "Oh, don't worry about

your new carpet. I got one of your best towels under the pillow to catch any drips."

And I'm only getting started. ■  
■ At another place, an innkeeper discovered his guest room had black paint pins all over the guest's carpet, quilt and drapes. The occupant, a judge on a car show, had related show rules by driving his own car jet black in the driveway, and the innkeeper had been closed into the bedroom, all wet.

■ A local motelier rented rooms to a group of bikers who "screamed OK." Next morning, after they checked out, the man went into one of their rooms and felt his way along the wall to the bed to remove the sheets for laundering. When he placed his hand on the wall, a slim in slinky panguee got. He moved down a few feet and scratched the wall again. More slink. He balled for his sighted wife, who looks into years when she saw what he had been feeling.

The bikies had covered all four bedrooms with in Worcestershire sauce. Who knows why? It took the couple two days to clean it.

■ A housekeeper ran upon one of the rooms, called it the "large room" she found as a guest

room. With street brown and pounding heart, the motelier entered the room and discovered brown pelts, pelts, pelts all over furniture and floor. Droppings, from an enormous domestic rabbit, which had captured half the room were trashed. When the guests returned, they were known to find their pelleted champion placed on each bed room in the office. The equally accused innkeeper asked them to leave—and then tried to look up ropes for rabbit stew if they didn't bail out.

■ A new room owner started mauling ailing domestic cats on his porch. After he pumped out the fumes, he took a break under a nearby tree. Hearing a deep growling noise, he turned and gaped in shock as the entire pool slowly rose out of the ground. When it was five feet high, there was a thunderous crash and the concrete house exploded upwards, releasing a power of war.

During the years the pool lay idle, an underground stream had eroded itself beneath. With the weight of the pool water removed, the pressure of the stream had done its mischief.

■ The owner of a Toronto motel keeps one of his rooms as a perfectly preserved "Ste-Wik style. Mavis companion often use it to film scenes, and he has an album thick with souvenir photos of TV and movie stars. The first time a film crew came to shoot "just a small scene," he and his guests were awakened at 5 a.m. by a convoy of 12 unmarked white motor-trailers flanked by as many unmarked white-panel trucks, plus a fleet of black cars. Fifty vehicles in all.

Regular eye-opening was actress Nicole Kidman, filming a passionate love scene in that room, clad only in a negligee and sitting on the desk. In the operator's great disappointment, she declined to talk to him or pose for a souvenir photo, and he was humiliated from the set. Afterwards, one-struck customers tried to buy the desk.

Being an innkeeper is a rewarding profession. What keeps innkeepers from going mad is that nine out of 10 guests are decent and friendly. But that 10th guest makes those who rent rooms to that travelling public wonder why they didn't pack a star, less stressful occupation.

Like shafts swirling. **B**

Bruce Grabl is president of the Ontario Accommodation Association in Peterborough. To comment: overtop@me.com or

## the 2003 Canada Post Literacy Awards

### Call for nominations

The Canada Post Literacy Awards are the only national awards program dedicated to recognizing grassroots literacy initiatives and to celebrating the achievements of learners and the people who help them along the way. This year's invitation to nominate a deserving individual, organization or business from your community for a 2003 Canada Post Literacy Award. There are four award categories to choose from.

#### Individual Achievement

Learners

#### Educator

Educators, tutors and program initiators

#### Community Leadership

Literacy, literacy and community organizations

#### Business Leadership

Workplace and corporate-led literacy initiatives

Nominating is easy. Everything you'll need to make a nomination is in our "Call for Nominations" brochure.

To obtain your copy, mail your written request to the address below or visit the Canada Post Literacy Awards Web site at [www.canadapost.ca/literacyawards](http://www.canadapost.ca/literacyawards) where you can download a copy of the brochure and nomination form and view samples of past submissions. Nominations will be accepted until noon EDT, Friday, May 30, 2003.

THE 2003 CANADA POST LITERACY AWARDS  
2201 BURNBURY RD SUITE 2010  
OTTAWA ON K1A 6H1

#### Sponsors:



Canada Post wishes to thank the Canadian Community Development Association and Les Histoires du Québec for their support.



Age is important to us.

ILLUSTRATION BY TONY

MACLEAN'S | MARCH 11, 2003 | 51





### Toys | Punkinhead's progress

Kathy Diebel never had a teddy bear as a child. So, as an adult, she went looking for the one she always wanted—a Punkinhead. From 1946 to the mid-'80s, the T. Eaton Co. Ltd. sold this rather strange-looking bear as season's favorite department and Christmas campaign. "I remember going to the Santa Claus parade in Toronto when I was 7 or 8," says Diebel, 61. "That was the first year Punkinhead was featured. We all fell in love with that teddy bear."

In developing Punkinhead, Eaton's took as lead from the Montgomery Ward mail store, which had created the wildly successful *Radolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer* in 1959. The two characters even have similar

stories. "Punkinhead was a pitiful little bear, who was laughed at by the other bears in the forest," says Diebel, who as a child had book len that told Punkinhead's story. "Then, one Christmas, Santa had a list of all the bears who were good for the pointing, but the elf's list didn't fit their smooth heads. However, Punkinhead had this shock of woolly hair that fit the hat just right."

Says Diebel has six plush Punkinhead bears—and a recording of the Punkinhead song. "It obviously didn't catch on as well as *Radolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer*," she says. Punkinhead items are now in high demand in the world of collectors. The original bears, which were made from 1946 to the early 1960s in England by Merrythought Hygienic Toys, are now worth \$1,200 to

Eaton's no longer exists, but its crazy-haired former mascot is in high demand.

\$2,000 (Kosco's 60s male in other countries are worth significantly less.)

Diebel doesn't have an original. So when she dug up a Punkinhead display at Toronto's Harbourfront Market Antique Doll Show earlier this month she bears well and from doll collector Lynn Marney. "I was given a Merrythought Punkinhead in 1949 as a baby gift," says Marney, 54. "And I'm sure one of these childhood toys I couldn't give up." Unlike the 17-inch original Merrythought bear that she picked up second-hand in 2001 and sold to a Japanese collector for US\$5,000. Trading that Punkinhead's hat to pitiful aghast. **SHARON GIBLIN**

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW STATION

### Books | Bearing witness

Benjamin Ratz, a young French filmmaker, went to Cambodia in 1975, and was quickly seduced by its powerful Buddhist traditions. He was still there in 1979 when the Khmer Rouge drew him into a detention camp. Three decades later, Ratz has recorded his experiences in the dark (though), a gripping memoir written in the author's words. "In a bitumen that knew no limit," Ratz does not wince for himself in this powerful and painful book—even if he did spend three months under daily threat of death—but for the ordinary Cambodians caught up in the madness killing fields. And he points out his eye on those western intellectuals who applauded the Communist victory, his own government which eventually spared the situation and, above all, the American, who first destabilized Cambodia and then abandoned it. "Their responsibility, their excusable silence, even their cynicism," all mediated first. "Not today I don't know what I remember them for more, their intervention or their withdrawal."

### BESTSELLERS

#### Fiction

	PREVIOUS WEEK
1. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	1
2. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	2
3. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	3
4. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	4
5. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	5
6. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	6
7. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	7
8. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	8
9. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	9
10. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	10

#### Non-fiction

1. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	1
2. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	2
3. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	3
4. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	4
5. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	5
6. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	6
7. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	7
8. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	8
9. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	9
10. <b>THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY</b> (Shirley Chisholm)	10

11. **THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY** (Shirley Chisholm)

12. **THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY** (Shirley Chisholm)

13. **THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY** (Shirley Chisholm)

14. **THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY** (Shirley Chisholm)

15. **THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY** (Shirley Chisholm)

Mastermindtoys.com  
Ships in Canada and the US  
FREE gift-wrapping and gift tags

The 100% Canadian online toy store, with Lego, Thomas and Friends, Barbie, Cocomo, K&N, science kits, a library of books, selection, puppets, arts & crafts, binoculars, jigsaw puzzles, board games, music, software and more.

**mastermindtoys.com**

Lamin-8 Services Inc.  
Order PHOTO PLACES at www.lamin-8.ca

**LAMIN-8**  
Turn your favorite digital pictures into laminated plaques. Visit our website and send your photos—we'll print, mount and laminate a top quality 8 x 10 for only \$4.95 plus taxes (includes free delivery Canada wide). Ready for easy hanging or desk-top display. Perfect for gifts.

Solaris Systems Inc.  
Ultimate! Phototherapy Equipment  
Toll Free, 1-800-833-3357

**PSORIASIS VITILIGO?**  
Ultaviolet light can be an effective treatment option. Home units are available. Made in Canada for over 20 years. A physician's prescription is required.  
**www.solarissystems.com**

QC Quality of Course Inc.  
**www.qualityofcourse.com**  
1-800-267-1828

Want to write? Our unique home study course shows you how to write well and how to get your work published. You succeed or your fees are refunded. Ask for the FREE book that explains it all.



**Earn a degree without interrupting your career**

**Athabasca University & Canadian Virtual University**

**www.cvu-uvic.ca/offer**

Henry's Photo, Video, Digital  
www.henrys.com  
email: info@henrys.com

**HENRY'S**  
Over 4,000 photo, video, digital and used products, 30 years in business. Secure transactions, downloadable flyers and auctions. We ship Canada-wide on a daily basis. Your best Canada imaging resource.

Global On-line System  
**www.onlinesystem.com**  
1-800-375-8501

Need more income? Ready for a change? Work at home online with this power internet system. Modelled on federal government regulations and Better Business practices. Earn \$500-\$1,000+ per month, part to full time. One-to-one training and support.

Paul McGuard, Queen's Counsel  
Tax Lawyer (30 Years Experience)  
1-800-765-0090  
**www.mcguardtax.com**

**Undisclosed Income?**  
We're a 100% All American  
Investment & Off-shore

Before you're caught, we can negotiate a beneficial tax settlement on a no asset **Geographical Basis**—no need to proceed further unless fully acceptable. Lawyer client confidentiality assured (ask us, your accountant cannot offer this legal protection). For best results, we deal in Revenue Canada (CRA) head office level. Subject initially discounted tax settlements possible.



## IN SYNC AGAINST WAR

Montreal's massive peace rallies show how distinctly united Quebecers are

**MONTREAL MARCHES.** Ottawa obliges, then Quebec City says "thank you and here's" "What a miracle! It is not supposed to work that way! Participatory democracy in Quebec follows a two-based pattern, one that, first, calls for Quebec to demand something, anything, and for Ottawa to say no. Then, Montreal both over into the reaction, it presented demonstrators with riot helmets.

As everything goes, the city has rich traditions to respect, and a well-set geographic body language too. As much to protest Canada as normally proceeds from the east, west-bound, one to save Canada leaves peace west and head east toward downtown.

So you know it's something special when a crowd—250,000 strong, by some estimates—massively leaves from Guy Street in the west and turns in the east, and converges in the middle to protest war in Iraq, as happened on March 15 Montreal united in a demonstration, and a peaceful demonstration, too, it seems. But the city can be quite socialist about its public displays—we have the world's largest jazz festival, *Jazz à la Ville*—so the local media focused instead on calling it "the largest peace rally in the Americas."

That Quebecers are opposed to war, any war, is much larger matter than that other Canadians is hardly news—remember the conspicuous crises of 1917 and 1944. Back then, though, only francophones resisted the draft. Most were ignorant peasants or villagers—or nationalist leaders concealing the fact that Canada, and its armed forces, seemed more English than Canadian. And as influential chunk of the clergy thought too, *Monsieur* style, was not a bad idea.

But that March 15 peace rally was not one Quebec. There were people from all walks of life, all horizons of the city, and all imaginable cultural, linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. There were *francophones* and *francophones*, but no *francophones*. There were *francophones*, singing hymns of *Coco-Cola* and such, but they were not overwhelming. Trade unions had helped organize the rally,

but they were diverse, and none of the ban dance-did brasses associated with Anglo-American parades showed up.

This was very much a march in which adults urban parents could introduce their protest offspring to active democracy—and take in a free show by the likes of rockers *Disturbed* or dancer *Mariah Carey*—between shopping for spring fashions at 9:00 and going for hot chocolate and pastry at Van Horne.

But still, Montreal is far from the largest city in the Americas, so why was the largest peace rally here? There are many possible explanations. Montreal has one of the largest populations of Middle Eastern origin in Canada, for instance. French has called "Waco" and we don't need a translator to understand Jacques Chirac. There are four big campuses in town—enough alone to mount a good march. "My students are mostly Swiss and German, but they all speak French and English, and are perfectly in sync with those at the other universities on foreign policy issues," says Stéphanie Paquin, who teaches political science at

Concordia University. And, of course, we love a parade—a previous march in February drew 150,000 despite a windstorm 32° C. But there is more.

Polls show that Quebecers are more opposed than other Canadians to war in Iraq. But Quebecers are usually less wary of Americans than other Canadians, so does this mean they've become reassured by the anti-American streak displayed in European media? "I don't see that," says Stéphanie Roussel, a foreign affairs specialist at Université du Québec à Montréal. "I don't see a rejection of things American, it's beyond of American values or products." Indeed, no other Montrealer was seen dumping Dr. Pepper in the river. So, it was pro-peace more than anti-American. "I think Quebecers more readily identify with the underdog," says Roussel. "You'll find more sympathy for Palestinians here than elsewhere in Canada, for instance, and I think that translated readily to Iraqis and Kurds." Furthermore, says Françoise March, one of the key organizers of the march, "we have more diversified sources of information here, and have partly escaped the brainwashing steel by CNN and other U.S. media."

As chance would have it, Prime Minister Jean Charest announced two days after the peace rally that Canada would not fight in Iraq without UN approval. The next day, in a surprising display of enthusiasm, Bernard Landry, the "Prime Minister" of Quebec, applauded the Prime Minister of Canada. So now we have a peace-loving Quebec at peace with Ottawa in a peaceful Canada?

Not so fast. According to Roussel, the reasons for Canada's position are light years away from the sentiment that sent people marching for peace downtown. "Canada thrives on balance between the U.S. and other powers, and on strong international negotiations," he says. "By refusing to align its policy with that of the Americans, Ottawa is telling the UN, and NATO, that 'we are positioning ourselves to pick up the pieces after the war.'" Bernard Landry? He is busy nowadays courting soft-federalists to vote for him on election day, April 14. If applauding Ottawa is all it takes.

And this new, peace-loving Quebec? "For 30 years, various groups have sowed the seeds of international solidarity in Quebec," says March. Now, it is harvest time. ■

Benjamin Aubin is Montreal's Montreal Bureau Chief. [benjamin@montreal.cbc.ca](mailto:benjamin@montreal.cbc.ca)



## Two writers. Legendary friends. Bitter rivals.

Only their passion for writing mirrored their passion for life. A riveting two-part mini-series.

### Hemingway vs Callaghan

**Sunday March 30 at 8pm / 8:30 NT**  
**Monday March 31 at 8pm / 8:30 NT**

cbc.ca

cbc television





## If you can't beat the forces of nature... join them.

The BMW Z4 Roadster: an exhilarating link to the forces of nature. Whether you opt for the intimate contact of its 6-speed manual transmission or the lightning-fast reflex of the F1-inspired Sequential Manual Gearbox (SMG), the BMW Z4 transforms eager anticipation into unbridled euphoria. The convenience of a fully automatic top that takes but ten seconds and one button to operate. Responsive performance. Precise handling. The enjoyment of a true roadster. Instincts that come as naturally to you as they do to us.

**BMW Z4 Roadster**  
2.5i  
3.0i



**The Ultimate  
Driving Experience.™**

© BMW Canada Inc. "BMW," the BMW logo and "The Ultimate Driving Experience" are trademarks of BMW AG used under license by BMW Canada Inc. Some models may be shown with options not available in Canada. Further information can be obtained from your BMW Retailer.

[www.bmw.ca](http://www.bmw.ca)  
1-800-667-6679